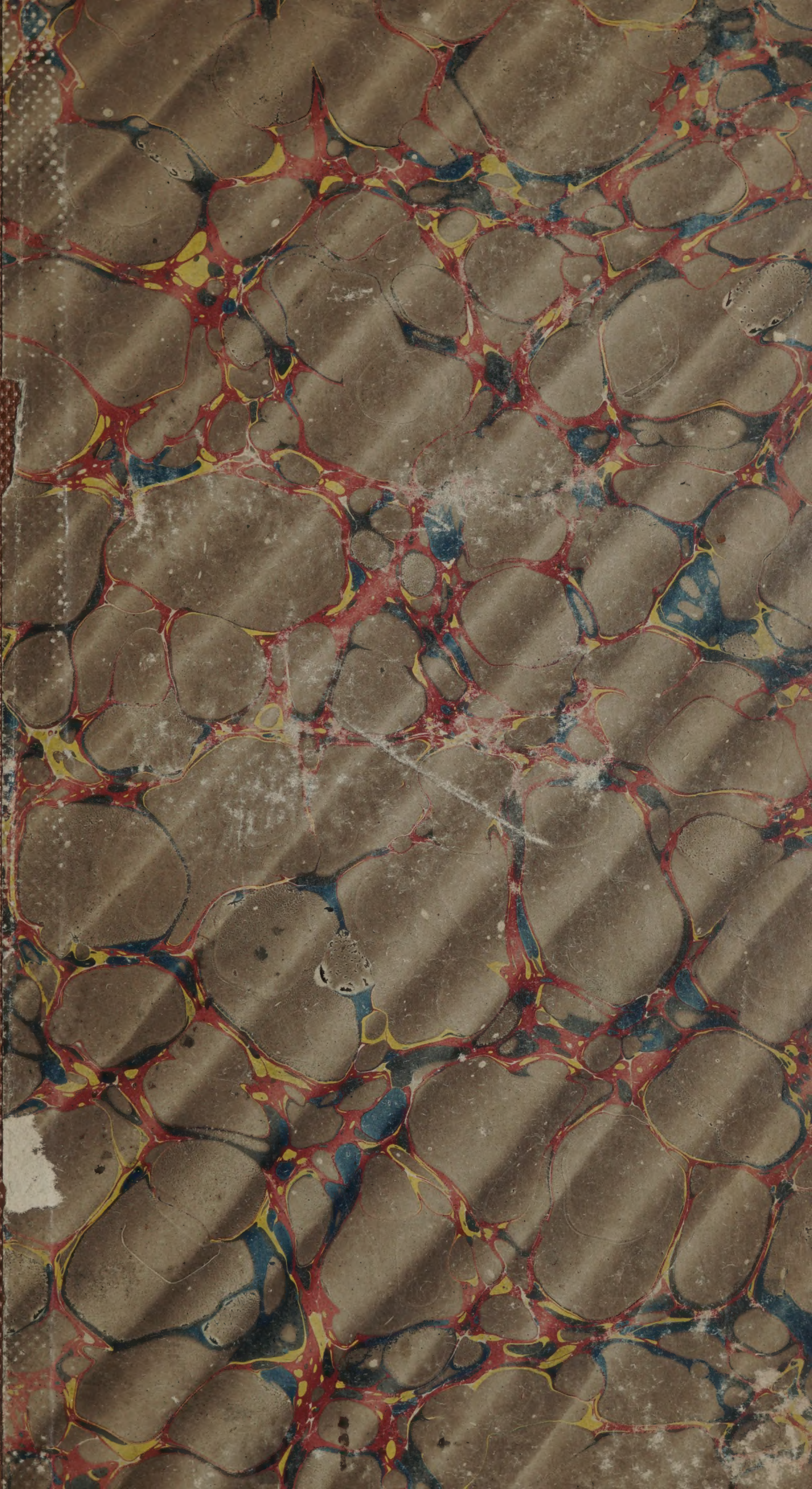

PROPERTY OF THE 4310a.11.

Public Library of the City of Boston

Added Mar. 17, 1865. No. 67276

THE

AMERICAN UNION:

Library of the City of Boston

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1850,

THE DAY OF THE ANNUAL THANKSGIVING IN PENNSYLVANIA,

AND REPEATED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19,

IN THE TENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BY

HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

Third Thousand.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO AND CO.,
SUCCESSORS TO GRIGG, ELLIOT & CO.
1851.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO AND CO.,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS, PRINTERS.

To the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D.

Philadelphia, *December 20th*, 1850.

Dear Sir:—Your friends and immediate fellow-citizens who have listened to your discourse on the Union, are naturally desirous of sharing with the country at large the advantages of so valuable a production.

The spirit of true patriotism which it breathes is especially calculated to do good by being widely diffused at the present moment, while it is distinguished by a tone of piety that is auspicious at all times, and cannot fail to be universally acceptable.

In the name of all who had the satisfaction to witness your eloquence on this interesting occasion, we respectfully ask that you would favor us with the use of the manuscript for publication.

With sincere respect and regard,

Your friends and faithful servants,

J. R. Ingersoll,
R. Patterson,
John K. Findlay,
W. C. Patterson,
John W. Forney,
G. M. Dallas,
W. M. Meredith,
Jos. Patterson,
R. M. Patterson,
Edward Armstrong,
John S. Riddle.

Philadelphia, *December 20th*, 1850.

To the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—Cordially approving the sentiments expressed by you in your recent discourse on the American Union, and believing that a more general diffusion of these sentiments would tend to the formation of a sound public opinion on this very important subject, and being desirous, moreover, individually, in some explicit and formal manner, to testify our own devout attachment to the Union, and our utter dissent from those who would subvert it, and our determination to abide by the Constitution and laws, and more particularly those laws of the last session of Congress known as the Compromise Acts, we, the undersigned, do most gratefully and heartily thank you for your eloquent and timely discourse on this subject, and request a copy of the same for publication.

Alex. W. Mitchell, M. D.,
Wm. H. Dillingham,
Lawrence Lewis,
Wm. Shippen, M. D.,
C. B. Jaudon,
Hugh Elliot,
Francis West, M. D.,
Wm. Goodrich,
R. R. Bearden,
Turner, Harris & Hale,
James Imbrie, Jr.,
Charles B. Penrose,
A. V. Parsons,
John S. Hart,
James B. Rogers,
Wm. Harris, M. D.
J. N. Dickson,
Smith, Murphy & Co.,
Hogan & Thompson,
J. B. Ross,
James Boggs,
Lippincott, Grambo & Co.,

Jno. R. Vogdes,
John K. Townsend, M. D.,
W. H. Gillingham, M. D.,
A. B. Cummings,
John H. Brown,
Samuel Hood,
William B. Hieskell,
Moses Johnson,
Dale, Ross & Withers,
Thos. H. Hoge,
Dundas T. Pratt,
F. N. Buck,
James Orne,
James Schott,
Wm. Veitch,
Lind & Brother,
Taylor & Paulding,
B. P. Hutchinson,
Sibley, Moulton & Woodruff,
David Springs & Co.,
R. B. Brinton & Co.,
James Leslie,
Peter L. Ferguson,
Truitt, Brother & Co.,
Martin & Smith,
W. Kirk,
Arthur A. Burt,
Morris Patterson,
Faust & Winebrenner,
William Brown,
D. B. Birney,
Gemmill & Cresswell,
J. G. Mitchell,
Scott, Baker & Co.,
J. Anspach, Jr.,
Geo. C. Barber,
J. W. Tilford,
Jno. McArthur,
Robt. M. Slaymaker,
A. W. Slack,
James Burrowes,
Knorr & Fuller,
De Coursey, Lafourcade & Co.,
Maurice A. Wurts,
Henry R. Davis.

Philadelphia, *December* 23*d*, 1850.

Gentlemen:—I cannot doubt that the favor with which my late humble effort in behalf of the Union has been received, is to be ascribed more to the existing state of the public mind on this subject, than to the intrinsic merits of the performance itself. I do not feel at liberty, however, to decline an application emanating from a body of my fellow-citizens so honorably representing the commerce of our city, and the learned professions, and comprising gentlemen whose public services have won for them the respect and gratitude of the nation, and identified their fame with that of the Union.

In the hope that the discourse which you have in such flattering terms requested for publication may be made, by a good Providence, instrumental in promoting in some degree the cause which we all have so much at heart, I herewith place the manuscript at your disposal.

I am very faithfully,
Your friend and fellow-citizen,
H. A. BOARDMAN.

To the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll,
Major-General Patterson,
Hon. George M. Dallas,
Hon. Wm. M. Meredith,
Hon. Charles B. Penrose,
Hon. A. V. Parsons,
Alex. W. Mitchell, M. D.
Wm. H. Dillingham, Esq.,
Professor Hart,
Lawrence Lewis, Esq., and others.

THE UNION.

Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? *is* not he thy father *that* hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?

Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.

When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.

For the Lord's portion *is* his people; Jacob *is* the lot of his inheritance.

He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings;

So the Lord alone did lead him, and *there was* no strange god with him.

He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock;

Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape.—Deut. XXXII. 6—14.

These words delineate with great beauty of imagery the general course of the Divine dispensations towards ancient Israel. Susceptible as they are of a ready adaptation to our own country, they suggest some of the various causes for gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events, which should animate our hearts as we assemble in our sanctuaries on this DAY OF THANKSGIVING. But they also intimate (if we choose thus to appropriate the passage to ourselves) that we are in danger of perverting and losing the munificent blessings Providence has conferred upon us. There is, I fear, but too much occasion for this warning. The pulpit should be very slow to give countenance or currency to topics calculated to excite or alarm the public mind; but where the UNION itself is in jeopardy, both patriotism and religion forbid that it should remain silent. In the judgment of discreet and upright men of all parties, a crisis of this kind has now arrived. And, indeed, the indications of it are so palpable that he only who shuts his eyes can fail to see them.

Up to a period quite within the recollection of the young men before me, the atrocious word, Disunion, was never uttered in any part of the Republic but with abhorrence. The universal sentiment was that the Union of these States was to be maintained at all hazards—that it was not a question to be discussed—and that any individual who should presume to impugn its sacred obligation would be justly chargeable with moral treason, and ought to be regarded as an enemy to his country. This wholesome public sentiment has been for several years past gradually giving way. Our ears have become familiarized to the word, Disunion. A protracted session of Congress has been consumed in discussing the thing itself. One State is at this moment almost on the verge of secession. Others are threatening it. And a large and vigilant party elsewhere are pressing favorite measures with the full conviction that, if they succeed in carrying them, the Union must and will be riven asunder. Under these circumstances, the pulpit may no more keep silence than the press. We have the same civil rights as other citizens; and we do not mean lightly to surrender them. But aside from this, the interests of religion in this country are in some sort confided to the keeping of the Ministry: and Christianity—not Christianity for our own land merely, but for the world, and for all coming generations of mankind—has so much at stake in the American Union, that, if we should refuse to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in all legitimate measures for the preservation of that Union, we should be recreant to the Master we profess to serve, and unfit to minister at his altar.

In the original manuscript of Washington's Farewell Address, there is the following paragraph partially erased. With the exception of the last sentence, it was rejected by him; but no apology will be needed for citing it on an occasion like the present: "Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be on our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite, vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the United States are ill affected to each other, in menaces that the Union will be dissolved by this, or that measure.

Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity, and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious; as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes; and thus chill the sentiment in its favor. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity at work to depreciate the value of the thing, and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise.—It will be much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the Palladium of our National happiness; to accommodate constantly our words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned."

It may be doubted whether this paragraph would not have been retained, could Washington have foreseen the events which are passing before our eyes. For there is a tone of remark now prevalent on this subject which indicates a wide-spread and perhaps growing disposition to calculate the value of the Union. That such a problem should in any quarter be seriously entertained—that it should not, on being propounded, be as summarily and indignantly thrust away as the question would be, whether we shall not replace our present form of government with a monarchy—is symptomatic of a decay of that pure and lofty patriotism which once throbbed in every American breast. Certain it is that those who can degrade a theme like this to the computations of a mere commercial arithmetic, and resolve the value of the Union as they would adjust a marine venture, or the cost of a cotton-mill, have never even begun to comprehend the extraordinary chain of events which led to the establishment of this Union, the gigantic difficulties which opposed its formation, the manifold blessings which have resulted from it, and the legionary evils which would be produced by its destruction. A proper discussion of these several topics in a temperate and able manner might well engage the leisure of some one of our eminent statesmen at the present juncture, and could not fail to have a salutary influence on the nation at large. I propose simply to recall your attention to THE ORIGIN OF THE UNION, AND SOME OF THE MORE OBVIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO FLOW FROM ITS DISSOLUTION—that we may the better understand what it is that certain parties are proposing to accomplish.

The observation has been often made, that the whole current of events connected with the settlement of America, and the growth of the Colonies, reveals a purpose on the part of Divine Providence to found, in this Western Hemisphere, a model government. They were no ordinary men who were sent here to lay the foundations of an empire in a wilderness tenanted by wild beasts and savages. No nation can boast a more honorable ancestry than that which comprises the Puritans, the Huguenots, and the Quakers, who fled to this continent, that they might enjoy

"Freedom to worship God."

The seeding of the soil gave promise of a rare and generous harvest; and amply was the pledge redeemed. They knew not the exalted mission entrusted to them; it was impossible, without the gift of foresight, that they should have known it. But it is easy for us to see that, during the entire period of their colonial state, they were preparing for the work before them. In their privations and dangers, their sicknesses and wars, their mutual rivalries and quarrels; in the unnatural neglect and flagrant oppression with which they were treated by the parent government; in the sagacity, enterprise, firmness, and courage which their circumstances helped to develop; and in the continual accession to their numbers of men of kindred principles, who were driven from the old world by persecution or tyranny—we can detect a superhuman agency, which was moulding and strengthening them for the scenes of the Revolution, and the responsibilities involved in its successful termination. These, it is important to remember, demanded a training no less peculiar than the Revolution itself. It is too commonly taken for granted that, with the Peace of '83, all danger was over; that the auspicious issue of our contest with the mother country was tantamount to the creation of a free and powerful Republic. In a word, that, as soon as their battles were ended, and the chains of their colonial vassalage broken, our fathers had but to sit down in quiet and enjoy the benign protection of that glorious Union which has, under Providence, made us the most prosperous nation on the globe. This is not only an utter misconception of the facts in the case; but it is adapted to disparage the wisdom and patriotism of the men of the Revolution, and to impair our reverence for the Union itself. It is scarcely going beyond the truth to say that their work was but half accomplished with the close of their last campaign. They had severed their allegiance to the crown; but they had no adequate government of their own, and they were in a situation most unfavorable for the establishment of one. The Union, that is, such a Union as their necessities demanded, was so far from evolving itself spontaneously from the chaos which succeeded the war, that the wisest and best men among them entertained the most anxious apprehensions as to the possibility of effecting it at all. "It may be in me," said one of them,* a man whose comprehensive and penetrating intellect resolved the abstrusest theorems in political science as by intuition, and who could express his profound and luminous views in a style which would scarcely suffer by a comparison with that of Junius—"It may be in me a defect of political fortitude, but I acknowledge that I cannot entertain an equal tranquillity with those who affect to treat the dangers of a longer continuance in our present situation as imaginary. A nation without a national Government is an awful spectacle. The establishment of a Constitution in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a PRODIGY, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety. I dread the more the consequences of new attempts, because I know that powerful individuals in this State [New York] and other States, are enemies to a general national Government in every possible shape."

---

* Mr. Hamilton.

In a similar strain, General Washington, at an earlier period, two years after the Treaty of Peace, wrote to Mr. Jay: "What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking: thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies, to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend!"

The old Confederation would have been too weak even for the purposes of war in any other hands than those of the pure and able men who were called to conduct the Revolution. And when the outward pressure was removed, and the colonies fell back under the sway of their several local usages and interests, the compact which united them proved to be but a rope of sand. The condition of the country waxed worse and worse, until it seemed to be on the verge of some terrible catastrophe. The war had dried up its resources. The government was encumbered with a debt which it had no means of paying. Commerce was at the lowest point of declension. The colonies, oppressed by their necessities, and more solicitous to retrieve their own fortunes than those of the Union, refused the supplies of money which were indispensable to the efficiency of the Confederation, and even to its prolonged existence. The Government was the very picture of imbecility; without troops, without a revenue, without credit, without power to enforce its laws at home, or to inspire respect abroad. And the reciprocal jealousies of the colonies, reviving with the return of peace, afforded little ground to hope that any scheme of union could be devised in which they would all, or even a major part of them, coalesce. The defects of the existing league were too palpable to be denied; but the most discordant opinions prevailed as to the appropriate remedy. This may be seen in the multiform objections which were made to the new Constitution when it came to be submitted to the States for their adoption. Not to speak of the monarchical party alluded to by General Washington, and which was probably very small, the following may be taken as a sample of these objections—"This one tells us that the Constitution ought to be rejected, because it is not a Confederation of the States, but a government over individuals. Another admits that it ought to be a government over individuals to a certain extent, but not to the extent proposed. A third objects to the want of a bill of rights. A fourth would have a bill of rights, but would have it declaratory not of the personal rights of individuals, but of the rights reserved to the States in their political capacity. A fifth thinks the plan would be unexceptionable but for the fatal power of regulating the times and places of election. An objector in a large State exclaims loudly against the unreasonable equality of representation in the Senate. An objector in a small State is equally loud against the dangerous inequality in the House of Representatives. From one quarter the amazing expense of administering the new government is urged; from another the cry is that the Congress will be but a shadow of a representation, and that the government would be far less objectionable if the number and the expense were doubled. A patriot in a State that does not import discerns insuperable objections against the power of direct taxation. The patriotic adversary in a State of great exports and imports is not less dissatisfied that the whole burthen of taxes may be thrown on consumption. This politician discovers in the Constitution a direct and irresistible tendency to monarchy; *that* is equally sure it will end in aristocracy."* But it would be wearisome to go on with this catalogue, and cite the objections urged against the instrument as a whole, and those advanced against the specific provisions appertaining severally to the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments. Enough has been said to show that the convention which assembled to frame a Constitution had an herculean task to perform; and that, without the special illumination of Divine Providence, they must have essayed in vain to frame an instrument which should unite in its support the suffrages of a majority of the States.

---

* Mr. Madison.

It is an additional consideration of great weight, bearing upon this point, that they were without a model. There was no existing government which they were willing to copy. There was no government of antiquity which would at all answer their purpose. They were, in truth, not only in advance of their own age, but of all ages, in their ideas of civil government. We may apply to them what Milton has said of the Hebrew prophets: they appear

> "As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government,
> In their majestic, unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome;
> In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so."

The concise instrument drawn up and signed in the cabin of the May Flower, was the charter of an embryo *Commonwealth*. It recognizes the great principle of equality, and the right and duty of the "civil body politic," into which the signers organized themselves, to "enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, as should be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." This germ expanded. It derived nurture from the alternate indifference and tyranny of the home government. The colonists, not of Massachusetts only, but of Virginia and the other provinces, were compelled to act for themselves. They came to regard the "*general good*," not the honor of a throne, or the aggrandizement of an aristocracy, as the proper end of government; and "*just and equal laws*," as the legitimate means by which this end was to be promoted. Long before their difficulties with the crown reached their crisis, these ideas had become as familiar to their minds as household words. They were very unlike the prevailing ideas in the Old World. They found no place in the constitutions of the most liberal monarchies. Political equality—popular suffrage—equal laws—the right of the majority to govern—the greatest good of the greatest number as the end of government,—these were principles which, however they might be entertained by individuals, had yet for the first time to be *enacted*, or even recognized by any European monarchy. And when with these principles is combined another of no less importance, that of a representative republic, we shall search in vain for any adequate exposition of their views even among the so-called republics of ancient or modern times. It shows an extraordinary elevation of mind, and a moral courage stamped with true sublimity, that they should have succeeded in divesting themselves of the intolerable thraldom of precedent and authority, and dared to lay the foundations of their new structure on principles which no other government had made trial of, or which had certainly never been tested in such combinations as were now contemplated. These principles alone, however, were suited to the emergency, and they applied them with a trustful fortitude and a profound wisdom which have never ceased (unless they have *now* ceased) to elicit the gratitude of their posterity, and the admiration of enlightened and liberal statesmen in all lands.

Without stopping to illustrate these points in detail, let us advert for a moment to that great principle of a representative republic which they invoked to harmonize the conflicting rights and interests of the colonies. Our minds are so familiar with this principle that we are scarcely in a position to appreciate the wisdom which guided the convention to the discovery of it (for it was a discovery), and led them to adopt it as the core of the new Constitution. They were to create a Government or Governments for the colonies. Putting monarchy out of the question, these plans were before them: 1st. Consolidation; the dissolution of the thirteen Provincial or State Governments, and a general amalgamation under one republican charter. 2dly. Consolidation in the form of a pure democracy. 3dly. The organization of thirteen entirely independent Governments—republican or democratic. 4thly. A simple Confederation of thirteen sovereignties.

These were the only models to be found in the annals of the world. All Governments not monarchical had conformed to one or another of these types: and yet the statesmen of the Revolution had the sagacity to see that they were alike either impracticable or utterly insufficient for their purposes. Consolidation was out of the question; the colonies would not consent to merge their individual existence in a single organization. A pure democracy was impracticable even for the States as such. A democracy requires the periodical convocation of the entire body of the citizens, to conduct its legislation, and is of course admissible only in the case of States comprising a very limited territory. This was a favorite scheme of a party after the war; and to elude the difficulty just stated, they were for dividing the larger colonies into districts of a tractable size. The creation of thirteen isolated sovereignties would have been the sure precursor and occasion of dissensions and wars. Nor would a simple Confederation of such a cluster of sovereignties, the scheme which was advocated by many of the most patriotic and influential men of the nation, have been essentially better. Such a Confederation already existed. Its inadequacy was matter of experience. No modification would be of any avail which came short of curing its radical vice, to wit, that of providing "legislation for States or Governments in their corporate or collective capacities, and as contradistinguished from the individuals of whom they consist." So long as this principle was retained, the States might be bound together in a league, but there could be no national Union. Nor would a general government be able to enforce its decrees at home or to protect its foreign interests, if the execution of its mandates were made contingent upon the legislation of other independent sovereignties.* A new principle was, therefore, needed to meet the exigencies of the case; and it was found in that of a representative republic. The sovereignty of the several States was left unimpaired in respect to all matters of local jurisdiction, while the Federal Government, springing no less directly than the State governments from the bosom of the people, and operating no less directly upon the people, was clothed with the functions requisite for the efficient administration of all interests appertaining to the general welfare of the Republic. Thus was the great problem solved. From the confusion and distraction, the imbecility and exhaustion, the conflicting theories and rivalries, of these emancipated provinces, emerged the UNION, clothed with majesty and honor, radiant with celestial beauty, her temples bound with a perennial olive-wreath, and her hands filled with such blessings for the expectant people as no nation but God's chosen one had ever dreamed of. Tyrants looked upon her and gnashed their teeth with rage. The patriots of every land hailed her advent as the rising of a second sun in the heavens. The down-trodden nations of Europe found life and hope even in her far-off smile. And as her magic influence penetrated their dungeons, the martyrs of liberty felt their chains lightened, and blessed God that, although their efforts had failed, one nation had at length established its freedom. It was in truth the triumph, the first great triumph, of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY. The records of mankind supplied no parallel to it; and it was a fitting occasion for a jubilee among the friends of human progress of every creed and country.

---

* See these points argued in the Federalist.

This cursory glance at the difficulties which were surmounted in the formation of our government may serve to enhance our appreciation of the UNION, and to invigorate our gratitude to the men who founded it. A nobler race of men, or one who have a stronger claim upon the affectionate veneration of mankind, the world has never seen. It is impossible that they should be forgotten so long as integrity, patriotism, and public virtue, have a being among men. Their names (to borrow the sublime tribute of Daniel Webster to John Hancock—a tribute which we may even now appropriate to the great orator himself) have a place as bright and glorious in the admiration of mankind, "as if they had been written in letters of light on the blue arch of heaven, between Orion and the Pleiades." Certain it is that if *we* ever cease to do them honor or to cherish the work of their hands, we shall deserve the execration of all future generations. For, whatever specious objections may have been urged against the Constitution at the period of its adoption, it is not with us an open question whether that immortal instrument was framed with all the wisdom which has been claimed for it, and whether it is adequate to the purposes for which it was designed. The seal of more than sixty years is now upon it, and its results are known and read of all men. In the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, is the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of that noble structure, and the felicitous inscription upon it runs thus : "*Reader, if you seek his monument, look around!*" So we may say of our Constitution. If you would estimate its value, LOOK AROUND !

> "How many States,
> And clustering towns, and monuments of fame,
> And scenes of glorious deeds."

Contrast the thirteen colonies of the Revolution with our thirty-one States. And then contrast the Republic as a whole with any other, even the most prosperous, empires of the globe. I give utterance only to one of our familiar common-places, when I say, that whether we regard the increase of its population, the development of its resources, the augmentation of its wealth, its power, and its influence among the nations, or the steady progress of its people in all the arts of a refined civilization, the history of this country is unexampled in the annals of our race. Without wishing to chime in with that strain of self-complacent declamation which has made so many

Fourth of July orations an offence to cultivated ears, the occasion not only authorizes but compels me to say, that there is no people on the earth so free as we are; none who possess such an affluence of all the immunities and appliances, social and political, secular and religious, essential to the plenary enjoyment of all personal rights, and to the greatest good of the great mass of the nation. To prove this would be a work of supererogation. If any man can "look around" and doubt it, he has mistaken his country, and should transfer his domicil to a more congenial clime.

Nor is the extraordinary growth of the United States in all the elements which constitute the true greatness and glory of a nation more indisputable than is the fact that we have been steadily opposed by most of the leading cabinets of Europe, and especially by the whole moral influence of the British Government and aristocracy. England has never forgiven us the Declaration of Independence. Whether it is because this Union is a standing memento of her folly and misgovernment, or because she is jealous of a daughter whose ships and spindles compete with her own in the markets of the globe, certain it is that she has always looked upon us with an evil eye. No maternal pride has ever betrayed her into a spontaneous burst of admiration at the enterprise, the intelligence, and the moral worth of her transatlantic offspring. When James the Second, one of her faithless kings, whom she drove in indignation from his throne, overlooked from the French coast the great naval action of La Hogue, and saw the British, after putting to flight that imposing squadron with which all his hopes were embarked, pursue their enemy in boats into the very shallows, and set fire to the ships which would otherwise have escaped, he could not restrain his admiration of their gallantry, but cried out, "Ah, none but my brave English could do this!" But no such paroxysm of generosity has ever overcome our venerable mother in contemplating this fair country. Instead of exclaiming, as she has marked the gradual transition of this vast wilderness into a cultivated continent, covered with towns and cities, and smiling harvests, "None but my brave children could have done this!" she has systematically detracted from our just fame, and disparaged our achievements. Allowing for individual exceptions, the tone of her press (not to speak of other indices of her feeling) has been marked with an illiberality and acerbity towards us which nothing could justify. Her journalists and tourists have set themselves to misrepresent and depreciate our institutions. From her stately Quarterlies down to the humblest hebdomadal repositories of provincial wit and wisdom, they have exerted their ten talents or their one talent, as the case might be, to cast ridicule upon our public acts and monuments, upon our civil franchises, our manners, our literature, our very roads and vehicles, and the whole working of our political and social systems. They have done what they could to make the impression in Europe that our great "experiment" was a failure; that there was no security here for life and property; that anarchy and semi-barbarism were already rampant; and that the Union must presently fall to pieces. And how has the country heeded these unworthy demonstrations? Precisely as a loaded train heeds the straws which sportive children scatter on the rails; or as an eagle heeds the pellets of mud cast after him as he soars upwards on his mighty pinions towards the sun. The country has advanced with a constantly accelerated momentum, which has at least changed the contempt of its maligners into the dignity of hatred. And neither defamatory presses nor official decrees, neither standing armies nor a domiciliary espionage, nor all these combined, have been able to conceal the truth from the simple-minded peasantry and the degraded operatives of Europe. Alike in their pestiferous workshops and in their remote mountain *chalets*, the name of the United States is a talisman to them. The salutation, "I am an *American* citizen," is the best passport a stranger can have to their confidence. Often have I seen their eyes sparkle on hearing it; and the sight made me proud of my country. It was the boast of the ancient Roman that the watch-word, "I am a Roman citizen," would secure him personal respect throughout the known world. But it was the dread of the imperial eagles which insured his safety. No such sentiment protects the American abroad. It is not the inspiration of fear, but of love, which lights up the countenances of the common people at his approach. They know little of politics, and less of geography. They have read but few books. They could give no very lucid account of this country. But they have these two ideas about it inwrought into their minds, viz., that it is a free country, and that the people are comfortable and contented. This makes it a land of hope to them. This makes them long to get here. This constitutes the subtle, mysterious influence which has gone out from our Union into all the hamlets and all the mines and forges of Europe; and which is drawing their tenantry towards us with an agency as irresistible as that which keeps the needle to the pole. This it was which made an honest, truthful peasant, who lived in one of those lofty valleys at the base of Mont Blanc, say to a party of Americans, a year or two since: "Not less than two hundred of my neighbors have gone from this small valley to your country, and nothing but the want of means keeps me from following them." I say again, I was proud to hear it. These unbought testimonies to the all-pervading and blessed influence of my country—testimonies picked up by the wayside, and by the cotter's hearth, and the shepherd's fold, from reapers, and wagoners, and guides, and laborers—are worth more than all the studied compliments ever bestowed upon America by courtly diplomatists. It is something to belong to a land which looms up in this way before all nations, as a land of peace and plenty, of virtue and safety—as an asylum where the oppressed may find a refuge from tyranny, and the poor the amplest scope and encouragement for frugal industry. It is something to belong to a land which is known wherever the foot of civilized man has trod, not by her Cæsars and Napoleons, not by her bloody wars and conquests, but by her Washingtons and Franklins, her civil and religious liberty, her equal laws, and her thriving populations. That such a land should *draw* upon the Old World is not surprising. The philosophy of the fact is sufficiently simple, and it was set forth by one of the illustrious orators of the Revolution with a felicity which is equalled only by his extraordinary prophetic announcement of the fact itself. Immediately after the close of the Revolution, Patrick Henry delivered a speech of great power in the Assembly of Virginia in favor of a liberal policy on the subject of immigration. Contrasting the expanse of our territory with the scanty population, he observed, "Your great want, sir, is the want of men, and these you must have, and will have speedily, if you are wise. Do you ask, how are you to get them? Open your doors, sir, and they will come in; the population of the Old World is full to overflowing; that population is ground, too, by the oppressions of the governments under which they live. Sir, they are already standing on tip-toe upon their native shores, and looking to your coasts with a wishful and longing eye; they see here a land blessed with natural and political advantages, which are not equalled by those of any other country upon earth; a land on which a gracious

Providence hath emptied the horn of abundance; a land over which Peace hath now stretched forth her white wings, and where Content and Plenty lie down at every door! Sir, they see something still more attractive than all this; they see a land in which Liberty hath taken up her abode; that Liberty whom they had considered as a fabled goddess, existing only in the fancies of poets; they see her here a real divinity, her altars rising on every hand throughout these happy States, her glories chanted by three millions of tongues, and the whole region smiling under her blessed influence. Sir, let but this celestial goddess, Liberty, stretch forth her fair hand toward the people of the Old World, tell them to come, and bid them welcome; and you will see them pouring in from the north, from the south, from the east, and from the west; your wilderness will be cleared and settled, your deserts will smile, your ranks will be filled; and you will soon be in a condition to defy the powers of any adversary." Liberty did "stretch forth her hand towards the Old World," and this eloquent prophecy glided into history. The three millions who chanted her glories have now become twenty-five millions; and the mighty current of humanity is setting towards our shores with a depth and a majesty which are enough to awe every thoughtful beholder. There are various aspects, economical, political, and religious, in which this imposing movement may be viewed. The twofold object for which it is cited here is to illustrate, on the one hand, the unprecedented growth of our country; and, on the other, the Antæan hold which this Union has taken upon the other hemisphere. Without restricting the remark to this wonderful migration from the Old World to the New, we are safe in affirming that the sublime spectacle of a self-governed and well-governed nation has told with prodigious effect upon the dynasties of Europe. For "the greatest engine of moral power known to human affairs is an organized, prosperous State. All that man in his individual capacity can do—all that he can effect by his private fraternities, by his ingenious discoveries and wonders of art, or by his influence over others—is as nothing, compared with the collective, perpetuated influence on human affairs and human happiness of a well-constituted, powerful commonwealth. It blesses generations with its sweet influence. Even the barren earth seems to pour out its fruits under a system where rights and property are secure; whilst her fairest gardens are blighted by despotism."* Such an example has been before the world for more than half a century; and while it is impossible to trace the influences which have gone out from it upon the other hemisphere, all parties are agreed that it has had a most effective agency in bringing about the ameliorating changes which have taken place in the European Governments. The reforms in those governments, which have consisted essentially in raising the people from a condition of political nonentity to a substantive power in the State, have drawn their animating breath and derived their most effective support from the precedent supplied by these United States. If the Nesselrodes and Metternichs of the day are competent witnesses, this country has been the great laboratory from whence "liberal ideas" have been continually flitting across the ocean and disturbing the Dead Sea tranquillity of the venerable despotisms of Europe. The extent to which these ideas have permeated the masses there is really surprising, when one considers the vigilance and severity with which tyranny everywhere guards its usurpations. Many a generous struggle has proved abortive, and hecatombs of brave but unfortunate patriots have been immolated to the Moloch of absolutism; but the cause of freedom has on the whole advanced. The nations are not where they were at the commencement of this century; and unless we betray *our* trust, and extinguish the light which now allures them on to freedom, there is little likelihood that they will ever consent to resume their chains. If we guard this vestal flame upon which so many anxious eyes are turned, the political renovation of the world must go on. Other lands will be emancipated, and the prophetic vision so beautifully depicted by the poet will be realized:—

---

* Mr. Edward Everett.

> "I saw the expecting regions stand,
> To catch the coming flame in turn;
> I saw from ready hand to hand
> The bright but struggling glory burn.

And each, as she received the flame,
Lighted her altar with its ray;
Then, smiling to the next who came,
Speeded it on its sparkling way."*

No man who believes that there is a Providence can take even a brief retrospect of our history, like that which has now engaged our attention, without discovering innumerable evidences of his benignant agency. He who does not see a Divine hand directing and controlling the whole course of our affairs, from the landing of the colonists at Jamestown and Plymouth until the present hour, would hardly have seen the pillar of cloud and of fire had he been with the Hebrews in the wilderness. This Union is not the work of man. It is THE WORK OF GOD. Among the achievements of his wisdom and beneficence in conducting the secular concerns of the world, it must be ranked as one of his greatest and best works. And he who would destroy it is chargeable with the impiety of attempting to subvert a structure which is eminently adapted to illustrate the perfections of the Deity, and to bless the whole family of man.

There are, however—the fact cannot be disguised—parties actually at work in endeavoring to destroy the Union. A party at the South and another party at the North, the poles apart in their speculative views of the subject which agitates them, and inflamed with a bitter mutual hostility, have virtually joined hands for the purpose of demolishing this Government. This is not, indeed, as to one of these parties, the ostensible object they have in view; but it is essentially involved in that object, and they know it. They must, therefore, be held to the responsibility of aiming at a dissolution of the Union, equally with those inhabitants of the Southern States who avow this as their aim.

---

* I am indebted to Mr. Everett for this beautiful quotation.

The subject which has occasioned this commotion is SLAVERY. The Southern Disunionists would secede because Congress, at its late session, passed certain acts abridging, as they allege, the rights of the slaveholding States; and the Northern Disunionists insist upon the repeal of a law passed at the same time, entitled the Fugitive Slave Law, even though its abrogation should involve a dissolution of the Union. My business as a Northern man, and a citizen of a free State, is with the latter of these parties, or rather with the North generally. In the few observations I am about to make on the subject, I shall simply reiterate sentiments which have been so often and so eloquently expressed both in Congress and out of it, that they have become familiar to every well-informed citizen. But I may say that the man who can put the American Union, with all its untold and inconceivable blessings, into one scale, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law into the other, and then strike the balance in favor of the latter, is without an exemplar in the history of the race until we get back to the record of that primeval tempter who said to our first mother, "Ye shall not surely die."

> "She pluck'd, she eat!
> Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
> Sighing thro' all her works, gave signs of woe,
> That all was lost!"

In saying this, I utterly disclaim any design to become the champion of Slavery. I have never set myself to defend it; and by the grace of God I never will. I concur in the estimate which is put upon it by the people of the North, and by tens of thousands of our Southern countrymen, that it is a colossal evil; and that no consummation is more devoutly to be wished and prayed for than its removal. But I can as little undertake the championship of Northern agitators and fanatics as that of Slavery. I believe they are the worst enemies of the slave, and the most efficient protectors of Slavery; and as such, I can have no fellowship with them. The law to which they object may be, or it may not be, defective or unjust in some of its provisions. If it is, it will no doubt at the proper time be amended; if it is not, it will stand. But what we are called upon to discountenance is the spirit in which this excitement is promoted—the recklessness and violence with which the unconditional repeal of the obnoxious law is demanded, irrespective of consequences—the abusive attacks which are constantly made upon the South—and the whole system of measures put in operation to alienate the two portions of the confederacy, and bring about a disruption.

However the fact may be contemned by the radical Abolitionists, it behooves us all to remember, what even the cursory retrospect presented in this discourse must have made sufficiently manifest, that the Union of these States was a matter of compromise. Obstructed as it was by the most serious impediments, it could never have been effected had not all the parties concerned been animated by a rare spirit of accommodation. General Washington, in submitting the draft of the new Constitution to Congress, thus expresses himself in his official letter as the President of the Convention: "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

In this spirit the Union originated, and in this spirit it has, under God's blessing, been preserved. On all the most important measures of the government, the country has been divided into two great parties. We have passed through various crises, which have tested the loyalty of one party or of the other, as the case might be, as in a fiery furnace. Take for example the following measures: Jay's Treaty—the Embargo—the War of 1812—the Missouri question—the Nullification controversy—the admission of Texas—and the Mexican War. Each of these measures was highly offensive to a large portion of the American people. The legislation of Congress was, in some of the cases, resisted by Statesmen of the most eminent abilities, as being in the face of the Constitution and destructive to our best interests. But when the acts were passed, the law-abiding spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race began to work, and all parties acquiesced. We have a striking illustration of this in one of the most recent of the measures just mentioned, the admission of Texas. The major part of the population in the free States regarded this, in the manner in which it was done, as a gross invasion of the Constitution. A distinguished citizen of South Carolina, formerly Governor of that State, has remarked, in a letter recently published, that "the admission of Texas furnished a far greater provocation to the North to secede, than the admission of California does to the South, with the auxiliary stipulations incident to the former."* But we did not secede. Nobody talked of seceding, except the party who are driving at disunion now.

---

* General James Hamilton's Letter to the People of South Carolina.

The sober sense and enlightened patriotism of the mass of the people, fortified by sixty years' experience, have taught them the necessity of forbearance, and made them feel that it is far better to submit even to what they believe to be wrong and hurtful measures than to break up the Union. They have no notion of setting the ship on fire because the captain deals out some oppressive orders. They choose rather to wait till the ship returns to port, and then, if they can, get a new captain.—In this spirit the compromise measures of the last session ought to be treated. They were not party measures, for none of the recognized parties was, as such, satisfied with them. But they supplied the only platform on which men of all parties could meet; and this is a sufficient reason why the country should acquiesce in them.

That a statute respecting fugitive slaves should form a part of this series of pacificatory measures, was a thing of course. One of the chief compromises of the Constitution itself relates to this very subject. The South would not come into the Union without some guarantee on this point, and the following section (Art. IV. Sect. 2) was adopted by the Convention—I believe unanimously. "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." A law was enacted under Washington's administration, and with his approval, to carry this provision of the Constitution into effect.* This law had of late years been rendered nugatory in some of the States by local legislation, and it became necessary to replace it with another. This is the statute which is now exciting so much opposition, and the execution of which has been resisted with so much violence. These demonstrations, although professedly directed against some of the details of the act, are to a great extent levelled against its principle. We do the party concerned in them no injustice in supposing that they would be equally hostile to any adequate law designed to effect the same object. In this view, one cannot but be struck with the flexible morality which can declaim fiercely about the inalienable rights of man, while it is trampling under its feet one of the most sacred covenants which ever bound a people together. There is no difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Constitutional provision on this subject. To that provision, in common with the others, our fathers assented, and we have assented. It is one of the terms of a compact into which we have as a people entered with one another; and which is just as binding upon us as any other of its provisions. Our judgment may condemn it. It may be very revolting to our feelings. But this is nothing to the purpose. We are under no obligation to remain in a country which we believe to be governed by oppressive laws; there is nothing to prevent our flying to any land which rejoices in a milder code and a more rational liberty. But as long as we continue citizens of this Union, we must abide by its Constitution and obey its laws.* And we cannot consent to take lessons in ethics from those who deny this proposition. The first requisite we demand in a teacher of morals is that he be a moral man himself. And when a covenant-breaker comes to expound to us our obligations, we feel disposed to decline his instructions and to say to him,

---

* It must be recorded, to the lasting honor of Pennsylvania, that she was the first of the thirteen States to abolish Slavery. This was done under the administration of President Reed, in 1780. And it is a circumstance worthy of note, that the act embraces a provision for the extradition of fugitive slaves. The following is an extract from its Eleventh Section: "Provided always, and be it further enacted, that this act, or anything in it contained, shall not give any relief or shelter to any absconding or runaway negro, or mulatto slave or servant, who has absented himself, or shall absent himself, from his or her owner, master or mistress, residing in any other State or Country; but such owner, master, or mistress, shall have like right and aid to demand, claim, and take away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case this act had not been made."

> "Your nickname, virtue; vice, you should have spoke;
> For virtue's office never breaks men's troth."

To some persons this may sound very unfeeling as regards the slave. I will not reply by saying that the Apostle Paul thought it no sin to send a fugitive back to his master. But this is a case where we are not at liberty to take counsel merely of our sympathies. The obligation of contracts is not made contingent upon men's feelings; and if this plea was to be urged at all, it should have been before the Constitution was adopted. We do not, however, rest our answer to the objection on this ground only. We are not willing to concede a monopoly of all the sympathy which is entertained for the bondman to the party which is clamoring for an unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. So far from it, we claim to be the truest friends of the slave. We believe that, as well for nations and in respect to public affairs, as for individuals, "Honesty is the best policy;" and that kindness to the colored race, no less than patriotism, demands a faithful adherence on the part of all concerned to the stipulations of the Constitution. By that instrument the exclusive jurisdiction of slavery is reserved to the several States. We have no more right to dictate to South Carolina what she shall do with her slaves than she has to prescribe to Pennsylvania what railroads we shall construct or what banks we shall charter. Nor does the responsibility of her system of servitude any more attach to us than does the responsibility of the serfdom of Russia. The Northern abolitionists (I use the term in its technical sense), impressed, it would seem, with a conviction that their proper responsibilities, sectional and national, secular and spiritual, are not commensurate with their capacities, have volunteered to shoulder by much the heaviest portion of the obligations resting upon the Southern States. The South declines the proffered civility; but they press their attentions. The South remonstrates, on the ground that the contemplated interference would be highly prejudicial to her tranquillity; but her officious friends insist upon it as their right to help her manage her private affairs. The South at length puts herself in an attitude of resistance, and points to the solemn compact in the Constitution; but they reply, with an air of triumph, that they are governed by a "*higher law*," and that under that law, it is not only their right but their duty to take charge of her slaves. And what have they accomplished by this Quixotic generosity? They have riveted the fetters of the slave. They have deterred at least three States, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, from carrying out the plans of prospective emancipation they were just entering upon when this outbreak of misguided philanthropy occurred at the North. They have scattered the seeds of discord and alienation broad-cast through the Confederacy. In a word, protesting that they were the exclusive friends of the slave, they have taken him to their breasts with a hug which reminds one of the embrace of that terrific automaton of the Virgin found in the dungeons of the "Holy Inquisition," which, clasping the victim in its arms and pressing him to its bosom, transfixed him with a thousand concealed spikes and knife-blades. And their fitting auxiliaries in all this crusade against the South have been British emissaries; the subjects of that crown which, in the face of the remonstrances of some of the colonies, planted slavery in our soil and fostered it into manhood, and which at this moment has millions of subjects at home and in its colonies who would be the gainers in physical comfort, and even in spiritual privilege, by exchanging places with our Southern slaves.

---

* It is not necessary, for the purposes of the present argument, to state the limitations of this principle.

The failure of all past efforts at the North to ameliorate the condition of the slave is not more palpable than is the certainty that the grand expedient now contemplated would prove equally abortive. For, suppose radicalism could achieve its purpose and split the Union to pieces, *how would this help the slave?* Does any man, not a tenant of a Lunatic Asylum, believe that Disunion would mitigate the evils of Southern servitude? Would it bring about a relaxation of the laws which regulate it? Would it incline the planters to put books and pens into the hands of their slaves? Would it facilitate the flight of fugitives? Would it conciliate the various legislatures towards schemes of emancipation? No one is so infatuated as to affirm this. The most frantic abolitionists must be aware that the disruption of the Union would put a cup of gall and wormwood to the lips of every slave; that it would be a signal for the enactment of more stringent laws than have ever appeared upon the Southern Statute-books; and for the institution of a system of *surveillance* on every plantation and in every household, the rigor of which has no parallel in the records of American bondage. In the name, then, of three millions of slaves, we protest against all schemes for dissolving the Union.

We believe that, terrible as such a catastrophe would be to the whites, it would be no less so to the blacks; that it would abridge their privileges, augment their burdens, and postpone by many years the period of their ultimate emancipation. And we should be criminally indifferent to their welfare, as well as treacherous to those sacred bonds which have hitherto united the North and the South in an honorable and affectionate brotherhood, if we could remain silent when sincere but mistaken religionists and unprincipled demagogues have well nigh precipitated the country into this frightful abyss. And we are all the more disposed to break silence because we believe that, of the two classes of agitators just named, the latter has a great deal more to do with the present excitement than the former. There is, it is true, a settled conviction in the minds of the Northern people that slavery is a great evil, and there is an anxious desire to see the country rid of it. But, left to itself, this feeling is as still as it is strong and deep; and it never could have been lashed into the foaming surges which now break over the land but through the systematic, crafty, and wicked exertions of political demagogues. There were men in the ancient republics whose motto was,

> "Better to reign in hell than serve in Heaven;"

and they cared not what became of their country, so *they* were promoted. Monsters, it has been said, cannot perpetuate their species; but this species, if not perpetuated, has been reproduced, for we indubitably have them among ourselves. Like Erostratus, who, when put to the torture, confessed that his motive in setting fire to the magnificent temple of Diana at Ephesus was to gain himself a name among posterity, these men appear to be intent upon attracting to themselves the attention of the world, even though it can be done only by applying the torch of civil war to this glorious Union. Let us hope that a merciful Providence will baffle their designs; that the upright and law-abiding people whom they have, for the time, bewitched with their enchantments, will detect the real character of their leaders; and that these local ebullitions of fanaticism will soon give place to those patriotic and conciliatory sentiments which have in every previous crisis of our history proved equally efficacious against domestic faction and foreign aggression.

It would be well for all classes of our citizens, at this critical juncture, to look Disunion fairly in the face. Its unavoidable effects upon the colored population constitute but a tithe of the evils which would flow from it. Not to exhaust your patience by going into the question at large, let it suffice to say that Disunion not only involves a fratricidal war, but that it would undoubtedly lead to a continued series of contentions and disruptions among the States. It seems to be taken for granted that, if we divide, we divide into two confederations. But why stop at two? It would be quite as natural certainly to form four confederations as two. And how long should we pause at four? A sense of common danger might hold the new combinations together for a season; but this would give place, after a while, to local and more potent influences. The strength of the Union lies not in its physical, but its moral power. Its real buttresses are not its army and navy, its mines and factories, its canals and railroads—not even its written constitutions and charters, its laws and tribunals; but its sacred traditions, the inwrought and, until lately, universal conviction of its unparalleled benefits, and that sense of its *sanctity* which has made the nation regard it with a reverential awe akin to that with which the Hebrews looked upon the ark of the covenant. The feeling has been that the Union *was* another ark of the covenant to us—that it was the repository of our most precious national mementoes, the symbol of the Divine presence with us, and the pledge of his future protection. This feeling is not to be ascribed to any specific training. It is no set lesson we have learned at school, or which has been drilled into us like a code of morals or a code of manners at home. We have inherited it from the mothers who bore us; we have inhaled it in the air of heaven; it has gathered nourishment from the scenes of our firesides, from our daily employments, from our journeys, from our sanctuaries, from our national anniversaries, from all our experiences and all our associations. It has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and imperceptibly become a part of our being. And this it is which, under God, has made the Union so strong; it is because its roots are struck down into our hearts, and so interlaced with the very framework of our moral being, that they seem to belong to our personal identity.

Now dissolve the Union, and not only do we cease to be what we have been, as individuals, but the power of the Union over us is gone, and gone forever. You annihilate by one stroke that feeling of its sanctity which has done more to preserve it than all other causes combined. And it matters not whether you merely cleave it in halves or divide it down into quarters or eighths. One pebble will spoil a mirror as well as a handful. The people will have learned, from a single rupture, that the Union is frangible—a most fatal discovery. For when they, have broken it once, they will not scruple, if occasion serves, to break it, or rather to break its fragments again; for it will have ceased to be the Union. We shall no longer have a national existence. The great events of our history—the illustrious names which adorn our annals—the heritage of renown committed to us—can no longer be appealed to as incentives to virtuous conduct, or as rallying-cries in seasons of peril. What orator will dare allude to Bunker Hill or Yorktown, to Champlain or Erie? What senator will dare invoke the name of Washington—or to speak of Henry and Marshall, of Greene and Morgan, of Jackson and Harrison, of Hull and Bainbridge? These illustrious men toiled and bled for the UNION; and when we shall have destroyed the work of their hands, and resolved the almost perfect government they established or defended at so great a cost into a group of petty jarring confederacies, shame will conspire with ingratitude in consigning their names, their honors, and their sufferings, to a speedy and an eternal oblivion. Nothing—if this calamity awaits us—nothing presents itself to our expectations but a future as humiliating and disastrous as our past has been bright and ennobling. Instead of that beneficent mission which we have been wont to suppose had been confided to us, of leading the nations on to freedom and happiness, we may look forward to protracted scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, which will sicken and discourage the patriots of other lands, and supply the partisans of arbitrary power with a triumphant proof that nations require a master.

We are not at liberty to disregard this consideration. Even if we were so lost to virtue and patriotism as to be reckless of the fate of our own countrymen, we could not elude the responsibilities which rest upon us in reference to the world at large. This Union cannot expire as the snow melts from the rock, or a star disappears from the firmament. When it falls, the crash will be heard in all lands. Wherever the winds of Heaven go, that will go, bearing sorrow and dismay to millions of stricken hearts. Not the dismay and sorrow incident to the blighting of their own prospects and the breaking up of their household plans; but the deep and inconsolable grief occasioned by a calamity so startling and so disastrous in its bearings upon the happiness of mankind as to leave the mind no opportunity for expatiating on its own private misfortunes. For the subversion of this Government will render the cause of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY hopeless throughout the world. What nation can govern itself, if this nation cannot? What encouragement will any people have to establish liberal institutions for themselves, if ours fail? Providence has laid upon us the responsibility and the honor of solving that problem in which all coming generations of men have a profound interest, whether the true ends of government can be secured by a popular representative system. In the munificence of his goodness, he put us in possession of our heritage by a series of interpositions scarcely less signal than those which conducted the Hebrews to Canaan; and He has up to this period withheld from us no immunities or resources which might facilitate an auspicious result. Never before was a people so advantageously situated for working out this great problem in favor of human liberty. And it is important for us to understand that the world so regards it. The argument with which Napoleon inflamed the ardor of his troops on the eve of the great battle of the Pyramids was in these pregnant words, "Soldiers! consider that from the summits of yonder Pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." Whatever the rhetoricians may say of this speech, they must at least admit that the principle to which it appeals constitutes one of the most powerful springs of human action, and that no man is at liberty to disregard its promptings. *We*, certainly, are bound to remember that the nations are looking to us, not for themselves only, but for the "centuries" which are to follow, to learn whether "order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured in the most perfect manner by a government entirely and purely elective." And if, in the frenzy of our base sectional jealousies, we dig the grave of the Union, and thus decide this question in the negative, no tongue may attempt to depict the disappointment and despair which will go along with the announcement as it spreads through distant lands. It will be at once the most unlooked-for and the most irrefragable testimony ever given to the odious theory, that princes were made to govern, and nations only to obey. It will be America, after fifty years' experience, in the course of which period she had done more to inspire the nations with a desire for liberal institutions than all other popular Governments combined had effected in the lapse of ages, giving in her adhesion to the doctrine that man was not made for self-government. It will be Freedom herself proclaiming that Freedom is a chimera; Liberty ringing her own knell all over the globe. And when the citizens or *subjects* of the Governments which are to succeed this Union shall visit Europe, and see in some land, now struggling to cast off its fetters, the lacerated and lifeless form of Liberty laid prostrate under the iron heel of despotism, let them remember that the blow which destroyed her was inflicted by their own country.

> "So the struck Eagle, stretched upon the plain,
> No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
> Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
> And winged the shaft that quivered in his heart.
> Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel
> He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel;
> While the same plumage that had warmed his nest
> Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."

Nor is this the only aspect in which the issues of Disunion present themselves to our contemplation. We are forced to consider them as well in respect to our spiritual as our civil and social interests. For the most remarkable characteristic of this whole movement is that the sacred name of RELIGION should be invoked to give a sanction to measures adapted to destroy this government; the Union is to be broken up for the sake of religion! The lofty morality of the Scriptures will not permit us to live together under a constitution which authorizes the Fugitive Slave Law; and we must separate.

> "I thought where all thy circling wiles would end;
> In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy!"

It needed but this ingredient to consummate the superlative madness and impiety of this scheme. For, if there is any one great national interest upon which the disruption of these States would fall with a crushing weight, it is our CHRISTIANITY—that interest which as much surpasses all others in importance as it will in duration.

There is no land where Christianity has achieved nobler victories than it has here. Enjoying at once plenary protection from the State and the utmost freedom, it has developed itself with a purity and an energy rarely witnessed in the Old World. It was a sublime undertaking, that of supplying, without the aid of endowments or government patronage, churches and spiritual teachers for a youthful and growing nation like this, diffused over so great an expanse of territory. And the predictions of failure were equally sanguine and universal among the adherents of the ecclesiastical establishments of Europe. But these predictions have not been verified. We may venture to assert, without violating the modesty proper to the occasion, that Christianity has accomplished far more than its friends could have anticipated; that the efficiency of the voluntary principle, as displayed here, has excited the astonishment of its bitterest opponents; and that we have done more by our example to refute the vicious theories of foreign statesmen and ecclesiastics, and to promote the progress of religious liberty on that side of the water, than could have been done by whole libraries of polemical divinity. The time forbids me to go into detail. But no candid observer can survey our country, in its moral and religious features, without being impressed with the grandeur of the results already achieved here. Not to speak of the churches with which the land is dotted over; the large body of educated and evangelical clergymen who occupy our pulpits and conduct most of the higher literary institutions; the liberal sums spontaneously contributed for the support and propagation of the Gospel; and the promptitude with which further subsidies and new laborers are supplied as fresh fields demand cultivation; look at the benign and powerful influence religion has exerted upon the population at large. There was a work to be done here so indispensable that the government could not get on tranquilly without it, but which the government could not do. Religion has done it. It has been the chief agent in establishing our systems of education. It has been the main-spring of most of the humane institutions designed to alleviate the wants and improve the condition of the people. It has gone down among the masses, and not only fed them and clothed them, but renovated their principles, restrained their passions, taught them their duties, and made them value their privileges. It has received in the arms of its comprehensive charity the myriads who land upon our wharves; and done more by its wondrous alchemy, than all other agencies combined, to transmute them into good citizens, and to homologate all creeds and parties and tongues in a harmonious brotherhood. It has redoubled its exertions to keep pace with the tide of emigration as it has rolled over the prairies, pierced the primeval forests of the West, and poured itself down the slopes of the Rocky Mountains upon the fertile plains of

Oregon and into the auriferous valleys of California. And, not satisfied with domestic conquests, though stretching from ocean to ocean, it has sent forth its peaceful cohorts to distant shores; and from Asia, from Africa, from the Isles of the Sea, ten thousand voices come back to proclaim their bloodless victories, and to assure us that the wilderness and the solitary place have been made glad for them, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose.

Now let the Union be dissolved, and how certainly will this vision pass away. For it is not possible that this event should occur without involving religion in the general catastrophe. It is a common maxim that, in times of public distress or alarm, credit is the first thing to suffer. It is no less true that RELIGION sympathizes at such crises, not only with credit, but with every other element of prosperity. Christianity is not a thing by itself—a mere matter of Bible-reading and Church-going, of Sundays and Sacraments. It is interfused, as we have just seen, through all our relations, comprehends all our employments, and exerts its prerogative over the whole field of human duty. The moment you touch the commerce or the husbandry of a country, you touch its Christianity. If you paralyze any branch of industry, weaken the popular confidence in the government, excite an expectation of war, or do anything else to agitate the public mind, religion feels the effect of it. It requires no prophet, therefore, to foresee that, in the event of a disruption, the churches would share in the common fortunes of the country. Amidst despondency and terror, dissensions and war, their strength would dwindle and their zeal decline. With diminished resources, the money now appropriated to the maintenance and diffusion of the Gospel would be wanted to pay troops and purchase munitions of war; or, should an appeal to arms be averted, to meet the enormous taxes for civil and military purposes incident to the new order of things, and the critical relations among the several States and Federations. It is no extravagant supposition that, if the process of dissolution once begins, it will not finally stop until the Republic is chopped up into six or eight distinct Leagues, each one of which must have its own general government, with the usual symbols and implements of nationality, such as Legislative and Judicial tribunals, ambassadors, a navy, and, what will then be unavoidable, a cordon of camps and fortresses and a considerable standing army. The very transit from our present condition to a state like this would be like the passage of a fleet through the Norwegian Maelstrom. It would extinguish hundreds of feeble churches and shatter the strongest ones. Instead of keeping pace with the spiritual wants of our nomadic population, which they are barely able to do when blessed with a redundant prosperity, the various denominations would find it difficult to sustain themselves at home. Foreign Missionaries would be recalled, and fields restored to paganism which have been won from it at a great outlay of money and life, and which are now "white to the harvest." The circumstances of the country would be as unpropitious to the culture of sound morals as they are now favorable. Infidelity and atheism would run riot through the land, violence and crime would superabound, and we should deteriorate in all those high moral qualities which have hitherto attested the efficacy of our Christianity and secured for us the respect of the civilized world.

And all this avalanche of evil is to be brought down upon us for the sake of RELIGION! We are to exchange our present condition for alienation, insecurity, commercial prostration, the decay of our churches, and the bankruptcy of our great charities—for the sake of religion! We are to make the Bible a nullity, and the Sabbath a day of amusement, re-open all the sluices of immorality, and deluge the land with licentiousness and profanity—for the sake of religion! We are to disband our schools and churches among the heathen, and send back the multitudes, now under Christian instruction, to worship in idol temples and sacrifice their children to devils, for the sake of religion!

We protest against this huge impiety. If fanatics and demagogues are resolved to destroy this Union, let them not pretend to sanctify the parricidal crime by perpetrating it in the name of religion. Enough that Buddhism should crush its deluded devotees under the car of Juggernaut, in the name of religion; that Mohammed should fertilize kingdoms with human blood, in the name of religion; that a spurious Christianity should keep its arsenals of chains and fagots and slaughter whole tribes of unoffending peasants, in the name of religion. Let not Satan come *hither* also in the robes of an angel of light. Let not the august name of religion be invoked to hallow an enormity which would not only shroud this land in mourning, but inflict upon religion itself the most irreparable injury. Every consideration of virtue not only, but of decency, forbids that Christianity should be called upon to preside at an *auto-da-fe* of which it is itself to be the holocaust; to consecrate an action which would for the time arrest its own beneficent triumphs, clothe atheistic impiety with superhuman power, and send a thrill of sardonic joy through those infernal legions who exult only in the calamities of virtue and the victories of sin.

Not to pursue this painful theme, it must be too apparent to require argument that the dismemberment of this Union would be one of the most appalling calamities which could befall the world. "Other misfortunes (I use the words of the great statesman of Massachusetts) may be borne or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still under a new cultivation they will grow green again and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of the Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished Government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of Constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State-rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if *these* columns fall, they will not be raised again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of Constitutional American Liberty."* But why *should* they fall? What is it which now threatens to overwhelm this Government in irretrievable ruin? Has it become so enervated by luxury as to sink into a state of inanition? Are we falling to pieces through the extraordinary and intractable expansion of our territory? Is there a victorious army at our gates? Are we ground down with oppressive laws for which there is no remedy but in a dissolution? No: none of these. But Congress, in the exercise of a power never before called in question, has admitted a State into the Union which refused to tolerate involuntary servitude; and in obedience to an imperative requisition of the Constitution, has passed a law for the reclamation of fugitive slaves! These are the grounds on which it is proposed to destroy this Government.

---

* Mr. Webster's Speech at the celebration of Washington's Birthday, in Washington, 1832.

For *these* reasons we are called upon, in the midst of peace, plenty, and prosperity, to exchange the best Government the world has ever seen—the most affluent blessings, the most glorious reminiscences, and the most brilliant prospects a nation ever enjoyed—for dismemberment, anarchy, and carnage. Surely, if the establishment of this Union by the voluntary consent of the people was, as Mr. Hamilton declared, a "prodigy," its voluntary destruction by that same people or their degenerate descendants, for causes like these and after sixty years experience of its benefits, would be a far greater prodigy. The turpitude of such a crime has nothing in history to illustrate it. Language was not made to define it. The generation which perpetrates it will cover themselves with an infamy as deep as the abyss into which they will have plunged their country. And the patriots of all coming generations will execrate the memories of the men who betrayed the priceless heritage of Constitutional Liberty which was purchased with the blood of their fathers and placed in their hands as trustees for all mankind.

Let it be *our* aim to do what we can to avert so fearful a catastrophe. Let us cultivate a spirit of conciliation towards all portions of the Confederacy. Let us sustain the majesty of the law. Let us invoke the blessing of heaven upon our rulers. Let us, above all, be instant and earnest in commending our beloved country to the care of that benignant Providence who has brought us through so many dangers and crowned us with such unexampled prosperity.

THE UNION.

[*Price 12½ cents single; 50 copies for 5 dollars.*]

THE BIBLE IN THE FAMILY,
OR
HINTS ON DOMESTIC HAPPINESS.
BY
H. A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

The very early call for another edition of this work affords the Publishers an opportunity of presenting in a condensed form some of the numerous notices bestowed upon it by the press.

LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.,
No. 14 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia.

[From the Washington Union.]

"We cannot too much commend this interesting work to the patronage of our readers. There is probably no work in modern times which compresses into so short a space, the instruction which is contained in the Bible, as applicable to those Divine institutions, the Family, the State, and the Church."

[From the Pennsylvania Inquirer.]

"Messrs. Lippincott, Grambo & Co. have just published a volume entitled 'The Bible in the Family; or, Hints on Domestic Happiness.' The author is the Rev. H. A. Boardman, D. D. We welcome this work as a most valuable addition to the religious literature of the family. It comes to our domestic circle to make better husbands and wives, better parents and children, better brothers and sisters, better masters and servants, in a word, to make our homes what the precepts of the Divine Author of the family require them to be. We have rarely met with a work so admirably adapted to the end in view, while the interesting nature of the subjects discussed, the beauty and aptness of the illustrations employed, and the easy and attractive style in which 'a word in season' is addressed to all, will make it, we believe, a general favorite. We hail it as an omen for good, when the pulpit not only expounds the sublime mysteries of our faith, and enforces those great truths more immediately connected with them, but deems it not inconsistent with its province to enter our households, and apply the precepts of God's word to 'the common routine of domestic life.' For this earnest and highly finished attempt to make our homes happy, and thus strengthen the cords which bind us to them, the reverend author is entitled to the thanks of an enlightened community. We have marked several extracts for insertion in our columns, the moment we can find room for them."

[From the International Magazine.]

"It is quite aside, and evidently was intended to be, from the usual routine, though not beyond the legitimate domain, of the pulpit. We have treatises on the relative duties, but no book, we believe, of this sort—not a treatise—which is adapted to American society. Dr. Boardman's work is attractive for its original and striking observation and scholarly finish as a piece of literature, while calculated to be eminently useful for its illustrations of practical religion."

[From the Evangelical Catholic (Dr. Muhlenberg).]

"This is an excellent book. The Bible is set forth as the great regulator of family duties and family joys. Many useful hints are given to fathers and mothers and children, to brothers and sisters, to lovers, to daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, to unmarried persons, &c. The pulpit is here carried into the world of affection, gracefully, and with beauty, at times."

[From the Puritan Recorder (Boston).]

"These Lectures, as might be expected of whatever comes from Dr. Boardman, are characterized by sound and comprehensive views, by practical and wise suggestions, by chaste and elevated sentiment, and by graphic and eloquent language. Every family that can read would do well to have a copy of it. It is a fitting book to go with the Bible."

[From the New York Observer.]

"The '*Bible in the Family*' is an admirable volume, which is most happily defined by its title. It treats with great skill on the secret and charm of domestic happiness. The book is one that ought to be in every house, and it will be a blessing to many."

[From the Tennessee Baptist.]

"Dr. Boardman has treated this subject with marked ability; and the circulation and reading of his book are well adapted to make us think more highly of our HOMES, and to prize that Bible more which has contributed so much to our domestic comfort. We hope, therefore, that this book will find a ready sale, and that it will be carefully and prayerfully read."

[From the Presbyterian Magazine (Dr. Van Rensselaer).]

"The subject is of incalculable importance; the manner of treating it marked by ability, a knowledge of human nature, the skill of a ready writer, and the courtesy of a Christian gentleman. The number and variety of the topics are as astonishing as the ease with which the author commends his remarks upon them to the understanding and the heart."

[From the Protestant Quarterly Review.]

"The dissertations of Dr. Boardman are remarkable not only for elegance of style and refinement of sentiment, but also for a happy faculty of administering very keen rebuke without affecting any such design. He has a quiet way of doing this thing which is peculiarly his own, and he does it without losing, or even impairing, his hold upon the most impracticable and obstinate subject. As a model of felicitous expression and genuine delicacy, we would especially commend his chapter on 'SINGLE WOMEN.' The beautiful portraiture of a '*Maiden Sister and Aunt,*' is one of the finest pieces of literary painting which has ever fallen under our notice. . . . . This book is one of very rare merit. We are persuaded that there are very few families, the members of which are trained to read and think, that will not thank us, should this notice induce them to place Dr. Boardman's Hints within the reach of the inmates of their households.

"The volume contains also a discourse on 'the Importance of Religion to the Legal Profession, with some remarks on the character of the late Charles Chauncey, Esq.' This sermon, at the time of its delivery, was greatly admired, and elicited a highly commendatory response from leading members of the Philadelphia Bar, at whose instance it was first published. It is in every way worthy of the author."

[From the North American and United States Gazette.]

"The discourse to the Bar is a finished and most eloquent production, worthy of its distinguished author, and well deserved by the illustrious virtues of the great and good man whose memory it illustrates.

[From the New York Commercial Advertiser.]

"Dr. Boardman's sermon to the Legal Profession is a noble discourse, paying a genial tribute to the character of the late Charles Chauncey, Esq., a member of the Philadelphia bar, and taking a discriminating view of the position and responsibilities of members of the legal profession generally. The features in Mr. Chauncey's character which Dr. Boardman holds up as a 'radiant example' to the profession, are his integrity, benevolence, respect for the Sabbath, and sincere Christianity, making truly, with his many minor excellences, a character worthy of the eloquent eulogiums pronounced upon him in this discourse, and affording a fit occasion for the excellent teachings it inculcates."

[From the New York Evangelist.]

"These are lectures delivered in the course of the author's ministry, on the great subject of religion in the family—an adjustment of the duties, capacities and experiences of domestic life to the principles of the gospel. They are written in a lively style, sometimes piquant and shrewd, always earnest and engaging. There are some topics handled which are not often introduced into the pulpit—but which most properly fall within the sphere of the Christian teacher. Some of the customs of fashionable life are sharply rebuked; some of the notions, which are as common as they are wrong, are arranged before the great principles of charity and truth with a kind of judicial severity that exposes their wrong in the strongest manner. We particularly commend the faithfulness of Dr. Boardman's remarks on single women, and on business men in relation to their families. There is appended to the volume Dr. B.'s sermon at the funeral of Charles Chauncey, Esq., on the relations of Christianity to the Legal Profession, which is a very eloquent and tasteful tribute to an eminently worthy man. The book presents, on the whole, an unusually valuable and engaging discussion, which the Christian family may peruse with great profit."

[From the Home Circle (Hartford, Conn.)]

"What Dr. Johnson said of Bishop Burnett's Life of the Earl of Rochester, may be applied to this book: 'The critic ought to read it for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety.' Parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, are there instructed with a plainness that will produce conviction, with a kindness that will conciliate favor, and an earnestness that must produce a reformation. We do not forget that all depends upon a divine blessing, but the Holy Spirit moves in a right line with second causes. Let the book be read, and read attentively, and it will do good."

[From the Christian Mirror, Portland, Me.]

"In a short and appropriate preface, Dr. Boardman informs the reader, that the Lectures comprised in this volume, 'form the first and only completed portion of a projected series of discourses on the Bible, in its relations to the three Divine Institutions, the *Family*, the *State*, and the *Church*.' We ardently hope that he will be able to prosecute his design to its completion; for if he should be as successful in the two remaining portions, as he has been in the first, he will have accomplished a work which will redound greatly to the good of man and the glory of God. He takes the Scriptural description of the family constitution, and develops from it the mutual obligations and duties which it involves,—not in a dry, formal, unfeeling manner, but in a style which 'comes *home* to men's bosoms,'—a style vivacious, intelligible, illustrative, beautifully didactic. These are topics on which most families need instruction, while those who have the least need, will be the most likely to avail themselves of the help here proffered. The Bible is made to speak throughout, carrying light and conviction. It would be happy for our country to have it multiplied, circulated, and read by myriads."

[From the Evening Bulletin.]

"It must be a matter of congratulation to Christians that Dr. Boardman has concluded to give his admirable series of lectures to the public, through the press. We had heard of their excellence from those who listened to them; and since their publication we have enjoyed and fully realized all that was said of them. They embody more sound, practical religious views on domestic life than any work of the kind we have met with. The volume is very suitably concluded with the eloquent and beautiful discourse on the Legal Profession, delivered by Dr. Boardman on the death of the late Charles Chauncey, Esq."

[From the Cincinnati Courier.]

"An admirable volume, calculated to be decidedly useful wherever read. It is made up of the first part of a series of discourses on 'The Bible, in its relations to the three divine institutions, the Family, the State, and the Church.' The sentiments are just and appropriate, and the style scholar-like and attractive; and in these days, when domestic duties are driven out of their places by the pressure of external cares and business, the volume will do good, wherever it can find its way into the families of the land."

KOSSUTH OR WASHINGTON?

2

THE NEW DOCTRINE
OF
INTERVENTION,
TRIED BY THE
TEACHINGS OF WASHINGTON:

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN THE
TENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA,
ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY EVENINGS, THE 23D AND 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1852.

BY

H. A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

Second Edition.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO AND CO.,
SUCCESSORS TO GRIGG, ELLIOT AND CO.
1852.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO AND CO.,
in the Office of the Clerk of the District Court of the United States in and for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS, PRINTERS.

ADDRESS.

In a discourse on the "TRUE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN RESPECT TO THE NATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE," delivered in this house, on the last Thanksgiving Day, there occurred the following passage:—

"Various indications show that a concerted effort is about to be made to break down the principle of non-intervention, which has hitherto been fundamental to our foreign policy, and to involve us actively in the conflicts of Europe. Under these circumstances, it becomes a grave question with every citizen: 'Is this plan, or the other which has been sketched, the true way to discharge our duty to the old world? Are we to send fleets and armies there (for this is the English of it), or are we to TAKE CARE OF THIS UNION?' In so far as this may be a legitimate topic for the pulpit, I could wish that my strength and your patience were equal to a brief discussion of it. I must, however, waive it with the citation of one or two of those solemn and monitory sentences which Washington devotes to the subject in his Farewell Address."

The sermon from which this paragraph is quoted, was preached nearly a fortnight before the *arrival of the Humboldt* in December. The course of events since that steamer landed the great Hungarian at Staten Island, is familiar to all who hear me. If it had not been such as to verify in an alarming degree the prediction then hazarded, that a vigorous effort was about to be made to revolutionize our foreign policy, the present service would have been dispensed with. It is, indeed, with unfeigned reluctance, and only under a stringent sense of duty, that I now, in the altered circumstances of the country, revert to the subject. That the discussion of it in this place will encounter more or less prejudice, is a thing of course. The common feeling will be, that it is a subject which lies beyond the proper jurisdiction of the pulpit, and the less clergymen have to say about it officially, the better. I should so judge myself, if it were not for two very grave considerations. The first is, that the influence of "the clergy" has already, in a signal manner, been put forth in favor of the movement now in progress. Wherever the Hungarian chief has gone, the ministers of religion have been conspicuous in their attentions to him. Not only youthful preachers, who might be carried away by the ardor of their feelings, but men venerable alike for their years, their learning, and their piety, have vied with the civil authorities in doing him honor. This is not, perhaps, surprising. M. KOSSUTH came to us as the representative of an interesting people, whose wrongs had excited a sentiment of indignation in the breasts of all true American citizens. We must have forfeited all title to our own liberties, and to the respect of mankind, if we could have seen Russia pour her barbarous hordes down the Carpathians, and re-impose the Austrian yoke upon the Hungarians, just as they were exulting in their well-earned deliverance, without strong emotion. There was everything, too, in the personal character and history of our guest, to elicit sympathy. No idle spectator of his country's woes, he had vindicated her rights with surpassing eloquence in the senate, guided the helm in the turmoil of her revolution, commanded her armies, shared in her disasters, and, hunted from her soil, secured a shelter from the scaffold only in a Turkish prison. Then, too, he stood before the nation as a Christian who, before whatever audience, proclaimed, with a frankness too rare in our own statesmen, his attachment to the Bible; as a Confessor, who had nobly refused to sacrifice his faith to his personal safety; as a Protestant, the inflexible friend of religious liberty, and one of a gallant race which, after repeatedly rolling back from Europe the devastating torrent of Mohammedanism, was now compelled to see its own ancient and beloved church made the football of Jesuit intolerance and Austrian tyranny.* When with these attributes you combine those rare oratorical powers which elicit equal admiration from the most refined and the most uncultivated auditories, there can be no room for surprise that Kossuth should have received from the Protestant clergy the same cordial greeting which has been extended to him by all other professions.

---

* "Scarcely had Russia restored the house of Hapsburg, by putting its foot on the neck of Hungary, when the first act of that house was to spill noble blood by the hands of the hangman, and its second was to destroy the rights of the Protestant religion." (*Kossuth's Speech in*

But he visits us, it must be remembered, on a specific errand. He comes, not as an emigrant, like Uijhazy and others of his friends, to seek a tranquil home here; not simply as an exile, to escape from danger; not mainly as a fallen leader, to obtain needful succors from the benevolent and the patriotic, for his suffering countrymen. He comes (so he has elected to come) on a political mission; as an expounder of international law; to get our government to incorporate in its policy a certain principle he has invented for the relief of oppressed nationalities, the adoption of which would at once change our relations with all the States of Christendom, and alter the whole tone and spirit of our confederation. It is not in this aspect that the clergy have regarded him. They have not, ordinarily, made this subject prominent in their complimentary addresses to him. But the moral effect has been to stamp their imprimatur upon his favorite project. His answers to them show that this is the impression produced upon his own

---

London.) There is reason enough why all the sympathies of the Romish hierarchy in Europe and America should be on the side of Austria.

mind, and there are but too many proofs that the people at large think with him. There can be little doubt that the Protestant ministers of the States he has traversed, are set down by the country as endorsing the grand object of his visit, and that this conviction has contributed essentially to the tolerance it has met with among sober-minded people. Nor will it discredit this belief, that the religious press and the pulpit should have been vigorously employed both in lauding the man and defending his peculiar dogma. All this might be allowed to pass, if it were a question merely of to-day. It is not very probable that even the eloquence of Kossuth will bring about an abandonment of that prudent and advantageous policy which we have followed for three-quarters of a century. But if he fails, other foreigners may hereafter tread in his steps. And whether they should or not, politicians of native growth will take the virus—for everything here runs into party-politics—and this question will reappear in our domestic elections. In this view of the case, it would be extremely unfortunate, if the public men of the country should be left to suppose that the Protestant clergy, as a body, were friendly to the new doctrine of intervention. The consequences could not fail to be disastrous in a high degree. As one of that honorable profession, therefore, I wish to unite with those of my brethren who, as pastors or editors, have already proclaimed their dissent from the new theory. Aware that the opinions of a single individual like myself can be of very little moment in any direction, I still feel constrained to put on record my earnest protest, both against this theory, and against the manner it is attempted to force it upon the country. I am very far from complaining of what so many of my fathers and brethren have done and are doing; but I must claim the same liberty they have exercised, and resist the scheme which they have virtually sanctioned.

The other ground on which the introduction of this subject into the pulpit may be vindicated, is, that the real question now before the American people, is the question of PEACE or WAR. The *furor* which gathers around the eloquent Magyar, and makes his convocations like a burning prairie, may hide the truth from some eyes; but no one who has his reason in full play, can fail to see that War, with its ensanguined horrors, is following in his train. If this be so, the right of the pulpit to take part in the discussion is not to be gainsaid. Patriotism, piety, humanity, forbid it to be silent. As individuals, we have the same stake in this question with our fellow-citizens; and as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, we should incur the guilt of a flagrant disloyalty, could we see a course of measures in progress legitimately tending to bring down this great calamity upon the country, without remonstrating against them.

If these views are assented to, there can be no difference of opinion as to the fitness of the theme to the present occasion. Among the munificent gifts of Divine Providence to this Western hemisphere, the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON will be conspicuous to the latest posterity. We owe our present position more, under God, to his instrumentality, than to that of any other individual. His character is part of our best earthly treasure: his teachings, one of our richest legacies. By a faithful adherence to his counsels, we have enjoyed an unexampled degree of prosperity. And there is no more suitable way in which we can manifest our reverence for his memory, and our gratitude to heaven for bestowing him upon us, than by repelling all attempts to pervert his principles and to seduce our government from the wise policy he prescribed to it. Such attempts are now making with a boldness, an energy, and an apparent impression upon masses of the people, which are ominous of evil. They meet us in a form eminently adapted to excite our sympathies and disarm our opposition. A European nation, rising against its oppressors, virtually achieves its independence: a third power, interposing with an overwhelming military force, after shooting and gibbeting thousands of its best citizens, replaces its chains, and consigns it to a still more terrible bondage. The gifted leader of this injured people appears amongst us, and tells the tale of his country's wrongs with a pathos which penetrates the most stoical bosoms. The effect produced by his addresses might almost be compared to that which followed the appeal of Maria Theresa [A. D. 1741] when, a young and beautiful queen, clad in deep mourning, with the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and girt with his sword, and holding her infant son in her arms, she appeared before the Hungarian Diet, and, after reciting the dangers which threatened her kingdom, threw herself upon her faithful Palatines for protection. The Magyar chivalry were carried by storm. In an instant every sword leaped from its scabbard, and amidst the cry, "Moriamur pro *rege* nostro Maria Theresa!" they swore to assert her rights, and to shed the last drop of their blood in her defence. More than one popular assembly in the United States has been wrought up to a similar pitch of enthusiasm by the solemn and touching oratory of Kossuth. And so just is the cause of his country, and so rare the ability with which he advocates it, that it seems a very thankless office to resist his demands and warn the people against his seductions. But duty loses none of its sacredness by being unwelcome; and we must beware how we put even Hungary before our own glorious UNION, or exchange the visionary speculations of a stranger for the tried wisdom of Washington.

What is it, then, that is asked of us? You shall hear in Kossuth's own words:—

"There is an international law founded upon principles; and one of those principles must be, that every country has the right to dispose of its destinies itself, and that no foreign power can have the right to interfere with its domestic concerns. This principle has been recognized, and by Russia. But the principle or law must be carried out. Who shall carry it out? The executive power of the international law should be exercised only by a free nation, for no other nation can have the power. Therefore, I claim this aid from the United States. The great principle of international law is the right of every nation to dispose of itself, and the United States should declare their willingness to respect that law, and to make it respected by others." (*Speech in Brooklyn.*)

"These are the great objects for which I seek the support of the United States, to check and not permit Russian interference in Hungary; because, so that Hungary may have an opportunity to organize her strength against Russian despotism and barbarity. This is the reason that I ask the United States to become the executive power to recognize the right of every nation to dispose of itself. This is the only glory which is yet wanting to the list of your glorious stars. The people of the United States having successfully asserted their own independence and freedom, have scarcely any other calling than to become the assertors of freedom equally for other lands; and I confidently hope, that being your condition, that you will not deny me your generous support in carrying out that great principle of non-interference, and also of not allowing any interference in that new struggle of Hungary for freedom and independence, which is already felt in the air, and which is pointed out by the finger of God himself." (*Address to the Military of New York.*)

We are asked, then, to do two things. To declare it as a principle of international law, that no nation shall interfere in the domestic concerns of another nation, and to constitute ourselves THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY FOR ENFORCING THIS LAW all over the globe. We are to "make this law respected by other nations." We are to "check and *not permit* Russian interference in Hungary." We are to regard the interference of one nation with the internal affairs of another *as a legitimate cause of war*, and, if nothing short will answer, we are to unsheath the sword to prevent it.

It cannot be laid to the charge of the American government or people, that they have ever been indifferent to the progress of liberty in other lands. We have watched the great conflict with which Europe is perpetually agitated, between prerogative and popular rights, with intense solicitude. Wherever a nation has revolted against its taskmasters, we have cheered them by our sympathy, and instructed them by our example. We have not ceased to protest against the monstrous dogmas of absolutism, that the plenitude of authority and right is vested in the crown, that society derives all its franchises from the good-will of the sovereign, and that the *people* have nothing to do with government but submit to its decrees, and gratefully accept such favors as may be conceded to them. Our abhorrence of these principles has been expressed, not merely by our entire periodical press,* and in the primary assemblies of the people, but in our gravest state papers, not excluding the annual "Messages" of the Presidents, and in the solemn enactments of our federal legislature. The despots of the world well know, and the friends of freedom in all lands know, where we stand. Our "line is gone out through all the earth, and our words unto the end of the world." Never, until we shall have sunk so low in virtue and patriotism as to be fit only for a servile yoke ourselves, can we cease to desire, and in all prudent and legitimate methods, to promote the progress of rational liberty throughout the earth.

It is precisely on this ground, that the Utopian doctrine of "intervention to prevent intervention," which now solicits our sanction, is to be condemned. It is because the recognition of it by the government of the United States would be most disastrous to the cause of liberty and enlightened progress both at home and abroad. Because it would throw the influence of this nation, hitherto the beneficent guardian of peace and happiness among the nations, into the scale of merciless and insatiable war.

I have stigmatized the doctrine as "Utopian." This is characterizing it by too mild a term. We are called upon to interpolate in the law of nations, at the point of the bayonet, if it can be done by no milder process, the provision, that, whenever one nation forcibly interferes in the domestic concerns of another, this shall be deemed by other nations a justifiable cause of war, and they shall accordingly take up arms against the offending state. "Interpolated" it must be, and that "at the point of the bayonet," if this dictum is to be incorporated in the international code. It will be time enough to talk of elevating it to this high dignity, when a single leading cabinet can be found which has not "intervened" in the affairs of other nations. To speak of what the great continental powers have done and are constantly doing in this line, would be superfluous. We are more concerned to know how England stands affected towards the rule, since it is proposed, or rather was proposed, when Kossuth was there, to associate her with ourselves in carrying it into effect. One of her own prominent journals shall supply us with the requisite information :—

---

* Some of the Romish journals excepted.

"The English ought to know something about intervention, for they have had some experience of it, and are paying dear for that experience. We interfered in behalf of royalty and order in France. We have interfered to deliver her and Europe from anarchists and military adventurers. We drove the French out of Sicily, and restored it to the King of Naples. Our fleets girded the shores of Italy, and by that and other services we earned from the Pope the memorable declaration that George III. was the best of his subjects. We helped to drive the French out of Portugal and Spain. More recently, we have kept up a long course of interference in the affairs of the Peninsula, and have helped materially to set up two constitutional queens. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and other smaller states, have to thank us for immense subsidies, and for other assistance, to which they are greatly indebted for the respectable figure they severally make on the map of Europe. We have interfered to give liberty and independence to Greece, and bless her with a court and a king. We have interfered to save Turkey from being utterly swallowed up by Mehemet Ali and his son, and have restored the Holy Land to the paternal dominion of the Porte. We have interfered, first, to give Belgium to the king of Holland, and then to take it away and make it independent. Indeed, it is difficult to say where we have not interfered, what government we have not thwarted or befriended, what people we have not backed up against their ruler, or what ruler we have not assisted against his subjects. But it is scarcely necessary to particularize interferences, seeing that nearly all our wars for the last sixty years have been wars of interference, viz., for the purely philanthropical object of establishing order and freedom in foreign countries, propagating constitutional ideas, adjusting the balance of power, and reforming mankind after the model of England."*

This summary will enable us to judge how far England is prepared to join with us in engrafting the proposed novelty upon Puffendorf and Vattel. Whenever she is ready to repudiate the whole course of her public policy, she will do it—and not till then. Meanwhile, she will continue to provide palaces for fugitive kings; and leave popular heroes, who may reach her shores in misfortune, to such comfort as they may gather from the cheers of the *people*, abated by the studied indifference of the crown, the aristocracy, the established clergy, and the cabinet.

---

* Quoted in the *New York Observer*, of January 15th; a journal which has discussed this question, on the anti-Kossuth side, in a series of editorial articles written with much ability and candor.

Candor requires the acknowledgment that, in some of these cases of intervention, the British government has had our cordial approval. Not to specify doubtful examples, where is the American who did not heartily commend the joint intervention of the three allied powers in behalf of Greece? Had the new statute then been in force, the battle of Navarino had not been fought, and Greece must have fallen back under the iron rule of the Moslem. Nor is this all. If, in the face of this international compact, the allies had interfered, we and other nations must have intervened against them! We must have sided with the Turk against the Greek, with the Crescent against the Cross, with the tyrant against his victims.

Or, to come to a still more recent example, one of the first acts of the pseudo French republic of '48, was to issue a "Manifesto to Europe," full of inflated protestations about liberty, in which there occurred this passage: "If the independent States of Italy should be invaded; if limits or obstacles should be opposed to their internal changes; if there should be any armed interference with their right of allying themselves together for the purpose of consolidating an Italian nation, the French republic would think itself entitled to take up arms in defence of those lawful movements for the improvement and the nationality of States." The next thing we hear, after this sublime flourish, Italy *is* "invaded," "limits and obstacles are opposed to her internal changes," an "armed interference" represses the will of her people, and a *French* army, storming the "Eternal City" amidst carnage and blood, subverts the infant republic, and reconstructs the throne of sacerdotal despotism. The infamy of this procedure has no archetype except in the blackest pages of European history. Sooner or later, retributive justice will avenge it upon that perfidious nation, if, indeed, they are not already reaping the fruit of it. Suppose, now, instead of the intervention of this mock-republic against the Roman people, England had interposed *for* them; that a British army had landed at Civita Vecchia, and protected the triumvirate in carrying into effect the expressed wishes of the nation for a change of government. What course would the new enactment have imposed upon the other nations, and ourselves as one of them? Why, that we should "intervene" to resist England. That we should espouse the cause of the priestly fugitive the Romans had, by common consent, deposed from his secular sovereignty, and replace in the Vatican that double-headed tyranny which has been the scourge of Christendom for the last twelve hundred years! Such would be the practical working of the principle we are seriously asked to recognize, and even compel the rest of the world to recognize, as an essential provision of international law.

Without amplifying this point, the conclusions to which we are shut up are manifest. As a general proposition, the abstract right of every nation to manage its own affairs, must be admitted. Occasions may arise, however, to justify foreign intervention. The mere fact of intervention determines nothing as to its character; it may or may not be an infringement of international rights. In some cases, it supplies a just ground of war on the part of other nations. In other cases, it is so far from being a *casus belli*, that it imposes on other nations an obligation of gratitude to the "intervening" nation, as being eminently conducive to the interests of humanity and constitutional liberty. The rights and obligations involved in the matter are too diversified and intricate to be adjusted by sweeping, categorical canons. Cases must be disposed of as they arise, each on its own merits. Every cabinet must meet the question of right and the question of policy, on its own responsibility to God and the civilized world. Governments, too, must act on those common-sense principles which control individuals in analogous circumstances. No prudent man ties up his hands against all possible interference in the family quarrels of his neighbors; still less, pledges himself to fight other people if they interfere. As a general rule, interference would be wrong in morals, and practically mischievous. But if a man learned that his neighbor was trying to murder his wife or children, he would be likely to interfere, and to get others to help him. Cabinets, that have not wedded themselves to an abstraction, will reserve a similar discretion, neither prejudging questions of intervention, nor hampering their freedom with self-imposed restrictions; since, "in truth, it is not the interfering or keeping aloof, but iniquitous intermeddlings, or treacherous inaction, which is praised or blamed by the decision of an equitable judge."*

The importance of these principles will be apparent as we proceed. They may especially aid us in comparing the new doctrine with the past policy of our government.

When the Panama Mission was under discussion in the House of Representatives, in 1826, a distinguished gentleman† from this State, in the course of an able speech adverse to the appointment of an Envoy, said, in allusion to the President: "Knowing that the American people considered an adherence to the Farewell Address of the man who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, to be the palladium of their safety, he has, by a long and ingenious argument, attempted to destroy its force." Without endorsing the censure upon the President expressed in this observation, it will recall to every mind what has happened in connection with the present excitement. At the very first banquet tendered him in this country, the Hungarian leader put forth all his powers in an ingenious argument to explain away the principles of the Farewell Address. He was too subtle an advocate and too shrewd a politician not to know that he could no more effect his object so long as Washington stood in his way, than an engineer can carry his rails through a mountain without tunnelling the rock. Whether it became him, an exile, invited to our shores by the generous hospitality of our Government, to set himself up, almost before the spray of the ocean was dry upon his clothes, as the expositor of that immortal instrument, and to undertake to instruct the American people in the true import of sentences which are among their household words, and written upon their heart of hearts—whether this was quite befitting to a man in his circumstances, is a point on which it might be thought there could be little difference of opinion. It is certain this was not the errand on which he was invited to this country. No administration, no Congress, would have sent a national ship to the Dardanelles to receive him, if it could have been anticipated that, from the moment of his landing on our shores, he would employ his extraordinary powers in subverting the influence of Washington, and bringing about a radical change in our foreign policy. We stood in need of no such 'intervention,' and no such teaching. If we do not comprehend the principles of Washington, at the end of a half century after his death, it is not probable we ever shall. Our new preceptor seems to imagine that, like the Ethiopian treasurer who sat in his chariot and read the prophet Isaiah, we need a second Philip to help us "understand what we read;" and he has magnanimously volunteered his exegetical services. With what success, must be judged by those who have sifted and weighed the impassioned sophistries with which, on so many occasions, he has labored to show that General Washington not only was not against his scheme, but was actually in favor of it! Without examining his arguments in detail, let us once more listen to Washington's own words. The Farewell Address is too familiar, to make it necessary that I should quote more than two or three sentences from it.

---

* Burke: On the Policy of the Allies.

† Mr. Buchanan.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have as little *political* connection with them as possible." "Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities." "Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

The same judicious and patriotic sentiments are everywhere expressed in his Correspondence.

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, so far as depended upon the Executive department, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for *ourselves*, and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad, and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union."*

"My policy has been, and will continue to be, while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to maintain friendly terms with, but be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all; being thoroughly convinced that it is our policy and interest to do so."†

"No policy, in my opinion, can be more clearly demonstrated, than that we should do justice to all, and have no political connection with any of the European powers, beyond those which result from and serve to regulate our commerce with them. Our own experience, if it has not already had this effect, will soon convince us, that the idea of disinterested favors or friendship from any nation whatever is too novel to be calculated on, and there will always be found a wide difference between the words and actions of any of them."*

---

* Letter to Patrick Henry, Oct. 9, 1795.

† To Gouverneur Morris, Dec. 22, 1795.

"It remains to be seen whether our country will stand upon independent ground, or be directed in its political concerns by any other nation. A little time will show who are its true friends, or, what is synonymous, who are true Americans; those who are stimulating a foreign nation to unfriendly acts, repugnant to our rights and dignity, and advocating all its measures, or those whose only aim has been to maintain a strict neutrality, to keep the United States out of the vortex of European politics, and to preserve them in peace."† "On the politics of Europe, I shall express no opinion, nor make any inquiry who is right or who is wrong. I wish well to all nations and to all men. My politics are plain and simple. I think every nation has a right to establish that form of government under which it conceives it may live most happy, provided it infracts no right, or is not dangerous to others; and that no governments ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another, except for the security of what is due to themselves."*

---

* To William Heath, May 20, 1797.

† To Thomas Pinckney, May 28, 1797.

If these sentiments are not intelligible to the American people without an elaborate commentary, we are certainly below the average mental capacity of the human family. The simple truth is, Washington has expressed himself on this subject with such explicitness, such earnestness, such deep solemnity, even, that it requires a very high degree of assurance for any man to attempt to obscure or pervert the clear and emphatic import of his words.

The plea, that he enjoins "neutrality" merely as between belligerent nations, but "does not even recommend non-interference,"† is the subterfuge of an advocate, not the fair and manly construction of a candid inquirer after truth. If he does not, in the passages just quoted, recommend to his countrymen non-interference in the concerns of other nations, then that idea cannot be embodied in language. And besides, the argument is from the greater to the less. If he protests against interference where nations are at war, much more does he protest against the adoption of any rule by which we shall bind ourselves to interfere wherever one nation has seen fit to meddle with the affairs of another. In the former case, we should ordinarily have but one war on our hands at a time; in the latter, we should rarely, if ever, be out of war, and might easily have several wars to manage at once. For this notion of playing High Sheriff among the nations, however flattering to our vanity, would be found rather troublesome in the execution. There is no great extravagance in presuming that they might sometimes prove refractory; and if they should, what would remain for us but cannon and bayonets?—But for the gravity of the subject, it would be positively ludicrous to hear the name of Washington invoked as sanctioning a doctrine legitimately leading to results like these.

---

* To General Lafayette, Dec. 25, 1798.

† Kossuth's Speech at the Corporation Banquet in New York.

Allowing, however, that the country has correctly interpreted his counsels, they were only of "temporary application." His policy was very well for our childhood, but it should be consigned to the Museums now, with the old revolutionary guns and uniforms. We are "too great a people" to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world, like the Japanese. Our voice should be heard, and our power felt, in adjusting the quarrels and shaping the destinies of the nations.

Such are the syren strains with which both foreign and domestic orators are essaying to emancipate us from the *servitude* imposed on us by the Founders of the Republic, and ratified by every administration from President Washington's to President Fillmore's. That the relations and duties of nations may change with their growth, no one will deny. But it is for the advocates of the new scheme to show that the policy prescribed by our fathers is not as well suited to our manhood as it was to our infancy. We *are* "a great nation:" not quite so great as some politicians would have the people believe, but still, "a great nation." And what has made us one? An inflexible adherence, under God, to the principles we are now asked to discard. We are what we are, because "keeping out of the vortex of European politics,"* "avoiding all entangling alliances,"† and "abstaining from any intervention in the affairs of other governments, as contrary to our principles of national policy,"‡ we have minded our own business, taken care of our own interests, and applied ourselves, with an humble and grateful dependence on the Giver of all good, to the development and culture of those resources, physical, intellectual, and moral, which the munificence of the Creator has bestowed upon us with an unexampled prodigality. The auspicious results of this policy are before the world. They are the constant theme of our gratitude to God. They are no less the theme of eloquent eulogy with the Hungarian chief and his American coadjutors, who in one breath laud our present position to the skies, and in the next exhort us to quit the broad thoroughfare which has conducted us to it, for intricate and tangled by-paths which no nation ever yet attempted without being seriously damaged, if not ruined. If they expect us to heed their counsel, to sacrifice all our national traditions, and embark on the stormy sea of European politics, let them show some solid reasons for it. This inflated declamation about our grandeur and our prowess is nothing to the purpose, unless they can set aside the maxims of Washington and his successors respecting the principles which should control our foreign policy. Let them prove, if they can, that Europe has *ceased* to have her own "primary interests," and her own "controversies," and that, "in extending our commercial relations, therefore, we should have as little *political* connection with her as possible." Let them show that, in virtue of our rapid advancement in the scale of nations, the time has come when we should "quit our own to stand upon foreign ground, and entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice." In a word, let them demonstrate that it is not as much our wisdom and our duty now as it was in '95 and '98, to "keep the United States free from political connections with every other country;" to "maintain friendly terms with, but be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all;" and not, by becoming the partisans of particular nations or cabinets, to "create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union." They have hitherto found it much easier to evade the real question at issue, than to show that these maxims were of mere temporary efficacy. Why, since the alternative has come to be, KOSSUTH or WASHINGTON, do they not grapple with the subject, and show that Washington's writings are only a horn-book for a people in leading-strings; and that, now we are out of the nursery, we must emulate the wisdom of the Hebrews, who, after Moses had led them safely across the sea, were for discarding him, to set up some extemporaneous captain of their own choosing? In the absence of any such frank and courageous dealing with the teachings of Washington, various considerations are brought forward in support of the new policy.

---

* Washington. † Jefferson. ‡ Jackson.

We have been admonished by the able and accomplished inventor of the scheme, that *self-preservation* requires our acceptance of it. The despots of Europe will not be satisfied with suppressing the free nationalities contiguous to them. Having effected this end, they will turn their attention to the United States. "And if (so he has told us) you do not take the position I humbly claim, you will have to fight a war single-handed, within less than five years, against Russia and all Europe."* "Remember—you will have to fight, surrounded by enemies, weakened by discord, standing forsaken, single-handed, alone, against *the whole world*."†

And so, in the same strain, "Professor Kinkel," at Louisville: If you suffer Germany to fall, "the united fleets of Europe will prevent your trade, and block up the ways of communication between our shores—no emigrant will be allowed to come to you to strengthen your power; and, if you will live, then you, a people of twenty-four millions, will have to fight against two hundred millions of Europeans."

---

* At Pittsburg. † At Cincinnati.

This is sufficiently startling, or would be, if either Kossuth or Kinkel bore the credentials of a prophet. It is not, however, without a parallel in our history. Precisely the same argument was used by Citizen Genet, the obnoxious Minister of the French Directory, in his incendiary efforts to embroil us in a war with England in '93. In a letter from Henry Lee to General Washington, written in June of that year, he says, in describing an interview with Genet: "He seemed to acquiesce in my reasoning, but insinuated that, in case the royal government was re-established in France, the kings of Europe would combine to destroy liberty here, and that our existence as a nation depended on the success of the Republican system (in France)." This prophecy shared the common fate of uninspired vaticinations. It remains to be seen whether a second edition of it will fare any better. Let the morrow take thought for the things of itself. We must look after the duties of to-day. It will be hard to convince a "calculating" people like our countrymen, that it is one of these duties to go to war with Russia, lest we may, at the end of a single lustrum, have to fight the whole world.

But the consideration which is pressed with the most vehemence, not only by our distinguished visitor, but at popular meetings and on the floor of Congress, is, that it does not become such a power as the United States to be indifferent to the struggles of other nations laboring to achieve their independence. The charge implied in this language has already been repelled. It is simply untrue. It proceeds upon the assumption that there is only one method in which we can display our sympathy in the progress of liberty abroad, and that to decline the scheme of intervention, is equivalent to doing nothing.

It is difficult to believe that this is urged with sincerity; for there is not an intelligent boy amongst us, who does not know that the influence of our institutions is felt throughout the civilized world. Instead of doing nothing for the cause of freedom, we have done more during the present century than all other earthly agencies combined. The question now to be settled, is, whether we shall adhere to a policy which has been attended with such resplendent advantages to mankind, or launch forth upon a career of experiment which must imperil our own capacities of usefulness and obstruct the emancipation of other nations.

To some minds, that conservation of our own institutions, which has given us so rare a power to do good, seems quite too tame an object to engross the ambition of a "great republic." We have reached a point where we can safely bestow a moiety of the care hitherto demanded by our own affairs, upon the concerns of other nations. The exigencies of a mixed population of twenty-three millions, spread over twenty-one degrees of latitude, and fifty-four degrees of longitude, with every variety of climate and production, a maritime and inland frontier of several thousand miles in extent, a commerce which whitens every sea, conflicting sectional jealousies, violent political contests, a most delicate combination of Federal and State relations, and accumulating masses of ignorance, lawlessness, and semi-barbarism, can all be provided for, and still leave us free to assume the protectorate of human rights and the executive of international law, for the rest of the world. Could national vanity or national infatuation go further? One hundred and fifty years ago, a classic poet of England celebrated *her* mission in these characteristic lines:—

> "'Tis Britain's care to watch o'er Europe's fate,
> And hold in balance each contending State;
> To threaten bold presumptuous kings with war,
> And answer her afflicted neighbor's prayer."

This is the identical mission which is now challenged for us; the only difference being that, instead of having it propounded in graceful poetry, it is commended to us in very thrilling prose. If we are ready to take the post, there is no fear but that England will resign it to us; for, when these verses were written, her public debt was sixteen millions of pounds sterling, and now it is about eight hundred millions. The greater part of this enormous sum has gone in carrying out her self-assumed vocation of maintaining the balance of power and redressing her neighbors' grievances. It may be well to ponder these figures, before we offer to relieve her of her police-duties.

For, if we become the sponsors of the Kossuth principle, "Intervention to prevent intervention," how is it possible to avoid war? He has himself conceded the point. In his address to the New York Bar, he spoke as follows:—

"Yes, gentlemen, I confess, should Russia not respect such a declaration of your country, then you are obliged, literally obliged, to go to war, or else be prepared to be degraded before mankind from your dignity. Yes, I confess that would be the case. But you are powerful enough to defy any power on earth in a just cause, as your Washington said; so may God help me, as it is true, that never was there yet a more just cause. There was enough of war on the earth for ambition, or egotistical interests even for womanly whims, to give to humanity the glorious example of a great people going even to war, not for egotistical interest, but for justice of the law of nations, for the law of nature and of nature's God, and it will be no great mischief after all. Protect them, defend them ever, if thou hast to go to war for it! That will be a holier war than ever yet was, and the blessing of God will be with thee. And yet, if the question of war is to be considered, not from the view of right, duty, and law, which still, in my opinion, is a decisive one; but, from the view of mere policy, then I believe that you must not shrink back from the mere word 'war.' There is no harm in the mere empty word; three little letters, very innocent, that's all!"

It is not for others to reconcile with this passage, the conviction he expressed in connection with it, that the course he recommended would *not* lead to a Russian war. None but a novice in political affairs can, for a moment, believe that we could attempt to enforce his doctrine, without going to war. It is preposterous to suppose that Russia or Austria, or any European State, would submit to dictation from us. And the advocates of the new dogma would manifest more respect for the intelligence of the country, by a candid admission of the truth on this point. Had Kossuth seen fit to pursue a different course, simply to plead the cause of his oppressed race, and solicit help for them, he would have had the whole country at his feet, and "material aid" would have flowed in upon him, not, as now, in driblets, but in a generous flood. But he sadly mistook his mission. Under a most mischievous bias, confirmed if not communicated by certain inflammatory speeches from Americans abroad, he came here, as a second Peter the Hermit, to preach up a crusade against all absolute governments, and against Russia in particular. He has traversed the country to get up a public sentiment which shall coerce the government into the adoption of his plans. He is exerting his utmost abilities to bring us into a position utterly alien from all our traditions, and which could not fail to supply the European powers with ample pretexts for intermeddling in our affairs. In a word, if he could succeed in his object, the actual result would be to convert us into a great military nation, with whatever that might entail of ambition, vice, faction, wars, suffering, public debt, financial disasters, and the endless train of calamities and crimes inseparable from an aggressive policy. It is too much to expect that we should bear all this in silence. Neither the wrongs of Hungary, nor the duties of hospitality, forbid our protesting in the most emphatic terms against this ungrateful abuse of our kindness. When we want advice as to the management of our affairs, we will seek it; and we must reserve the right of choosing our counsellors. The indelicacy of this interference finds no mitigation either in the indulgence with which it has been treated, or in our past relations with Hungary. In the manner of it there is nothing to commend, everything to censure. The conduct of our foreign affairs belongs to the government, not to the people in mass meetings. If he had a diplomatic measure to propose, it was perfectly competent to him to submit it to the existing administration, and they must have disposed of it on their responsibility to God and the country. But, knowing that this would be fatal to his chimerical project, and presuming on the fertile resources of his oratory, he ignores the functions of the government, and brings his suit before an unauthorized and irresponsible tribunal. He has even gone so far on a recent occasion as to use language like this:—

"My second reason for forming these associations, is, that *the cheers of the people are not recorded in Washington city;* but when I can show the records of these associations; when they have joined together and act in unison; when they consist of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of people; when out of the small drops of individual sympathy a vast ocean has been formed, then, indeed, though their cheers may not be weighed, their names and influence will be."*

I will not trust myself to comment on this extraordinary language, beyond a single observation. What must be the capacity of a nation for free institutions, the ostensible head of which can permit himself to prostitute the sympathy and confidence of a great people to the purpose of arraying that people against their government, and *that* on a most delicate and complex question originated by himself, and on his application *alone* demanding an answer? This remark may do the Hungarians injustice, but it is impossible to repress the unwelcome apprehensions awakened by observing how ill their late governor seems to understand the reciprocal relations of a free government and its citizens.

It is, unhappily, true that numerous convocations have voted their adhesion to the new doctrine, and, in some instances, their desire to have our government enforce it at all hazards. It is this circumstance which gives the movement its importance, and justifies even the pulpit in resisting it. The Christian ministry is appointed to look after the interests of morality and religion. Nothing is so disastrous to these interests as war, and if we are ever called upon to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in averting this terrible calamity, we are warranted in doing it, when a zealous apostle of war is stealing the hearts of the nation, and working them up to a crusade, the folly of which has no parallel since Western Europe poured itself in a mighty avalanche upon Palestine for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. And there is the more reason why sober-minded men of all professions should frown upon this agitation, because there is so much material in the country which can by skilful management be made subservient to it.

---

* Speech at Salem, Ohio.

It has, for example, even been used as an argument in favor of the scheme, that we have a very large body of foreigners amongst us who must feel a deep interest in the spread of liberal principles abroad. This reference is to the Germans, Poles, and others from continental Europe, many of whom have been driven here by political convulsions. Among them, unfortunately, there is a large sprinkling of the wildest radicals—demagogues in politics and atheists in religion.

It is said that there are about one hundred German newspapers in the United States, nearly all of which belong to the socialist school, and advocate the worst doctrines of the socialist creed. Some of these men, almost before they can speak our language, are plotting the subversion of the very institutions which have afforded them a refuge from oppression, possibly a shelter from the gallows. One of their associations in Richmond, a few months since, published a programme comprising the heads of "Reform" they mean to aim at. The following is a sample:—

"We demand the abolition of the presidency; the abolition of the senate, so that the legislature shall consist of only one branch; the right of the people to dismiss their representatives at their pleasure; all lawsuits to be conducted without expense; the abolition of all neutrality; intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty; abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; abolition of prayers in congress; abolition of oath upon the Bible; abolition of land monopoly; taking possession of the railroads by the state; abolition of the Christian system of punishment, and introduction of the human amelioration system; abolition of capital punishment."

The association which put forth this platform "has its ramifications with similar societies in all parts of the Union, and they pledge themselves to work unitedly to accomplish these objects."

It would be very unjust to the Hungarian leader to connect his name with these nefarious proceedings. In the speeches he delivered in England, he disclaimed all sympathy with socialism, politically or religiously, and is entitled to the full benefit of those disclaimers. But when we are urged to adopt his favorite principle respecting intervention, as an act of justice to the Europeans who live amongst us, it is quite pertinent to bring forward the disorganizing radicalism of these associations in bar of the argument. They reveal the remarkable fact that we have, in the very heart of our population, a disciplined band of *revolutionists.* We have been accustomed to think that our system, whatever else might happen to it, was beyond the reach of revolution; that its fundamental principles, which are as little affected by the common agitations of party as the rocky bed of the ocean by the fluctuations of the waves, could never be called in question. But it seems, in the judgment of these alien anarchists, nothing is settled. The whole ship must be dismantled, her very hull broken up, and everything, from keel to royal-mast, rebuilt. This is what they modestly call "Reform," but what, if it has its proper name, can only be styled Destruction. To reason with such men is, of course, not to be thought of. To entrust them with political power would be suicidal. They affiliate irresistibly with discontent and turbulence. Like the stormy-petrel, the tempest is their proper element. They hate our prudence in shunning foreign alliances. Everything that looks towards an interference with the affairs of Europe will have their staunch advocacy. They may not like the Hungarian's character, but they will relish his project, and would relish it still more if they could infuse more radicalism into it. If we are not dragged into the first war that occurs across the water, it will not be their fault. Do we well to countenance a scheme which would find in men of this stamp its readiest supporters, and which they would be certain to use to our detriment and that of other nations?

Then, again, there is *the vainglorious spirit* which has diffused its vicious leaven through our whole national character, and which all politicians, foreign and domestic, can play upon so skilfully. This is, by eminence, *the* lever which Kossuth has wielded with such signal effect, from his speech at Staten Island to his last speech in Ohio—nay, which he began to ply before he left England. It is the fuse he keeps always lighted; and whether he has before him the Bar or the populace, the women or the children, our grave legislators or still graver divines, he thrusts in the match, and is sure to find tinder. No people could be more conscious of the grandeur of their position than we are. True to our lineage, we never lapse into the weakness of disparaging our resources and achievements. What we have done is considerable, but it is nothing to what we can do and mean to do. Having subdued this continent, we are now, if we may trust our popular orators, to set about the regeneration of Europe. Europe, it is true, has felt our influence, and is feeling it through ten thousand unobtrusive channels. But these processes are too slow for this magnificent nineteenth century, and this still more magnificent country. We are called to more summary action. Twenty millions of American freemen are surely equal to two hundred and thirty millions of Europeans, and are bound to see that their sovereigns treat them well and help them on, as fast as possible, towards republican institutions. This is our mission. We have coasted along the shore long enough; a richer harvest than that which tempted Columbus invites us, and we must turn our prows to the ocean. Henceforth our government becomes a grand *Collegium de propaganda libertate*, and we go on to our destiny as the renovators of the world!

Is it not humiliating that, with multitudes of our countrymen, badinage like this should be sober prose? Yet so it is: for it is precisely this material which forms the warp and woof of the most effective speeches, whenever our relations with the old world come under discussion. And it is the prevalence of this spirit, so capable of being wrought upon for evil, which should put the conservatism of the country upon an organized and resolute resistance to the visionary scheme we are combating.

The manifest absurdity of this scheme, and its ruinous tendency, in the naked form of "intervention to prevent intervention," have led to the preparation of a substitute. It is proposed simply to notify the cabinets of the world, that we shall regard any interference by one nation in the domestic concerns of another, as a breach of international law—leaving it to be decided as cases arise, whether to follow this declaration by protest, by an appeal to arms, or by nothing at all.

This question I am not called upon to discuss. But there are two observations which may be made upon it. The first is, that nations cannot play at mock-fighting. In the lexicography of diplomatists, names are things. Protocols and protests do not necessarily involve more stringent measures. But a cabinet which is jealous of its dignity, will be chary of its menaces. It is as dangerous for prime ministers as it is for children to play with edge-tools.

The other observation is, that all demonstrations of the kind referred to on the part of a great power, convey to oppressed nations an assurance of something more than naked sympathy. Their tendency is to encourage such nations to revolt. How far this may be proper in any given case, is not now the question. But common humanity, not to speak of justice, is outraged, when a cabinet stimulates a people to strike for their freedom, and then denies them the succors they had on fair moral grounds, if not by formal stipulation, been warranted to expect.

It is not denied, however, that cases may arise in which intervention in this form, and even with something more significant than parchment manifestoes, would be both our right and our duty. If the United States occupied the territory which constitutes the domain of Turkey, or that of Prussia, the very case which has occasioned the present crusade might have proved one of this description. The question then would have been, whether the law of self-protection did not require us to repel, by whatever means, the barbarous assault of Russia upon the liberties of Hungary. Situated as we *are*, our abstract right to interpose, should the same emergency occur a second time, may be conceded. But will any sane man contend that the possession of a right carries with it an obligation to the constant exercise of that right? Let this principle be adopted in the administration of our foreign affairs; that, wherever we have the right, we are bound to interfere to prevent interference; and it needs no prophet to foretell that it would be to us "the great Serbonian bog betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius, where armies whole have sunk." Besides, an abstract political right may be so exercised as to involve a moral wrong. Before we can be justified in arraigning another state for its misdeeds, a fair presumption must be made out, that the effort will do more good than harm. "The power inadequate to all other things, is often more than sufficient to do mischief."* And the advocates of the scheme now before the country, will have to tax their ingenuity to show that any interference of ours between Hungary and Russia, would not turn out to be simply "a power to do mischief." There are individuals among them—men not apt to be carried away by dreams and visions—who believe that this measure would be highly beneficial to Hungary. But even if this could be established, it would remain to be proved, that the ultimate consequences would not be most disastrous to ourselves, and to the general amelioration of mankind. It is too evident to admit of debate (the iteration of the sentiment may be excused), that we owe the elevated position we have attained among the nations, in no small measure, to the policy we have pursued with inflexible rigor, of standing aloof from their quarrels, and having as little political connection with them as possible. Is *this* a time to abandon a policy which has, under God, consolidated our institutions, developed our resources, spread over our vast territory the symbols and appliances of peace and plenty, intelligence and virtue, poured into our lap the riches of every clime, secured us the respect of every people and cabinet, and made our name, not merely a talisman of hope, but a tower of strength, to the oppressed and the injured of all lands? When in answer to this, hereditary vanity or foreign adulation cites these very facts as a reason for repudiating the maxims of our fathers, does not history counsel us against listening to their seducing sophistries? Do not the moss-covered ruins of gorgeous cities and the mausoleums of empires, scattered all along the track of time, warn us with an eloquence surpassing all human oratory against exchanging the steady, vigilant care of our own interests, for an ambitious intermeddling in the concerns of other nations? That those nations are brought so much nearer to us than formerly, so far from strengthening the adverse argument, is an additional reason why we should not cultivate too great an intimacy with them. Just in proportion as the Atlantic is narrowed to a "ferry," shall we be swept towards that dangerous "vortex" of which Washington admonished us. The currents which bear us in that direction will steadily increase in volume and velocity. Setting aside the augmenting influence of commerce and travel, the annual transfer of three or four hundred thousand Europeans to our soil, will foster the disposition already too apparent here, to interfere in the politics of that continent. Appeals for intervention are already multiplying. Before the ink was fairly dry which recorded in the official journals the reception of Kossuth by Congress, the honors paid him were urged before the Senate as a "precedent" for our "intervening" with another cabinet in a case of alleged oppression, and petitions were presented for an act of mediation with still a third sovereign, in behalf of certain of his aggrieved subjects. Once fairly inaugurated, this policy will mature as rapidly as Jonah's gourd; though not, perhaps, to wither so soon. We shall need, if not a new department at Washington, at least a new bureau, to conduct our "Intervention account" with foreign governments; and those governments, not to be backward in reciprocating such favors, will see that our Congressional debates are enlivened by the frequent introduction of proposals to assist us in managing our private affairs. Possibly this system might *average* better results to the great family of nations. The Austrians, and the Chinese, and some others, might breathe more freely under a sovereignty shared by our President; but it is not quite so clear that *we* should be among the gainers. And as this is a point of some little moment to us, it may be well for our legislators to look into it before they adopt the new code.

---

* Burke.

The tone of these remarks may not accord with the exceeding gravity of the subject. For who can contemplate the *condition of Europe*, without shuddering to think of the consequences which must follow, if, at such a crisis, we go forth under the impulse of a generous but illusive knight-errantry, to implicate ourselves in her conflicts? There is a graphic passage in one of Washington's letters,* so applicable to the present juncture, that it might seem to have been written for the occasion.

"With respect to the nations of Europe, their situation appears so awful, that nothing short of Omnipotence can predict the issue; although every human mind must feel for the miseries it endures. Our course is plain; they who run may read it. Theirs is so bewildered and dark, so entangled and embarrassed, and so obviously under the influence of intrigue, that one would suppose, if anything could open the eyes of our misled citizens, that the deplorable situation of those people could not fail to effect it."

What is their condition now but that of a boiling caldron? There is no one sentiment in which men of all ranks and professions, of all creeds and parties, on both sides of the Atlantic, are more thoroughly agreed, than that Europe is on the eve of a general war. This is one of the favorite common-places of the Magyar. He dilates upon it in every speech. He depicts it prophetically as the grand contest which is to decide the fate of the nations. He declares that the struggle has already begun, in the late usurpation in France; and professes to be expecting letters by every steamer, recalling him to take his proper post in conducting it. And yet, in the same breath in which he delineates the terrific scenes of this exterminating war, he calls upon us, "raising our gigantic arm in a commanding attitude, to speak these words to the Russian Bear, 'KEEP BACK!' and to the Czar, 'HANDS OFF!'"* Does the man think we are demented? Can he imagine that the cheers which these inflammatory appeals elicit from masses crazed by the sorcery of his eloquence, indicate the sober convictions of the people of the United States? Does his familiarity with history supply him with a solitary example of national folly and insanity at all comparable to that which this nation would present, should we accede to his counsel? Or can he cite a single other instance in which an expatriated stranger, the guest of a great and prosperous people, has presumed to offer himself to that people as the expositor of their foreign policy, in place of one who had earned, by every tie which wisdom, virtue, patriotism, magnanimity, and a long life of disinterested and arduous service in the field and the cabinet could confer, a title to that most venerable name, the "FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY?"

---

* To Oliver Wolcott, May 29, 1797.

And with what view, after all, are we asked to commit our bark, freighted as it is with the best hopes of humanity, to this treacherous sea, at the moment when earth and heaven are blackening and quaking with the approaching hurricane? Why, since the storm *must* come, and a whole continent is to reel under its Titanic convulsions, and so many ancient and massive structures are to be shattered to pieces, why should *we*, of deliberation and choice, rush into the turmoil and invite its fury? The only reply to these questions, is the following: "The freedom of the nations is confided to your custody, and fidelity to your trust demands of you this sacrifice." The answer is worthy of the reasoning which suggests it; most unworthy of the sacred cause it is designed to subserve. Not to note the subtle appeal it makes to our vanity, it proceeds upon the pernicious fallacy, that mere political liberty—the enfranchisement of the masses and an equality of civil rights—comprises all the elements of national stability and happiness; and hence, that republican institutions can be propagated by diplomacy or the sword. A more Utopian heresy in politics was never propounded. It has its ecclesiastical prototype in the scheme of those zealous princes of the seventh and eighth centuries, who put themselves at the head of their regiments and dragooned whole tribes of savages into the Church. Treading in the steps of these warlike evangelists, there is a modern school of political reformers, whose prime conception of freedom, is, that it consists in democratic charters and usages; and that, wherever these can be established, a nation is put on the high road to prosperity and renown. As reasonable to argue that the true way to insure order in our public schools, would be to convert them into pure democracies by deposing all the teachers and remitting their functions to the *posse comitatus*. Nay, this is doing our boys injustice.

---

* Speech in Baltimore.

For if there is a single school in which the pupils would not display more capacity for self-government than the French nation has done since the bloody epoch of '93, the Board of Controllers should know the reason. To go back but a very short time, four years ago to a month (as the speaker can testify from personal observation) "Liberty-trees" were planted in Paris, and the other chief towns of the new-born "Republic," amidst the pæans of the populace and with sacerdotal benisons. But they would not grow. After the buds which were on them died, which they did very soon, not one of them ever sprouted. And within the last two months, for aught that appears to the contrary, amidst the shouts of the same populace, and with the benedictions of the same priests, they have been chopped down and made into bonfires. It was an idle experiment, on a par with the most absurd of those which are recorded of amateur cultivators. You might as well plant the palmetto in Iceland, or the Victoria Regia in the heart of Sahara, as "Liberty-trees" in a soil which has never been broken up and mixed with the rich mould of Gospel-truth. The tree of life was in the beginning placed side by side with the tree of knowledge: and social reformers should have learned before now, that what "God thus joined together, man may not put asunder." In our soil, they never have been "put asunder." From the first settlement of the continent to the present hour, we have gone upon the principle, that an ignorant or a vicious people cannot be a free people.

Nor was it in this alone that the preparation of the North American colonists, for liberty, consisted. They were no strangers either to the science of government or to the exercise of civil franchises. Their protracted conflicts with the crown, and the peculiar exigencies growing out of their separation into isolated communities, each of which had to manage its own affairs, had made them thoroughly conversant with the principles of just administration. They came out of the revolutionary war, therefore, trained to enjoy and improve the independence their valor had won.

So also in England, the work of reform has been gradual but progressive. From the memorable day on which the barons wrested Magna Charta from the perfidious John at Runnymede until now, the popular element has been, on the whole, and with many temporary reverses, gaining strength. Power is always sensitive and tenacious; and history presents no finer study than the sublime contest which has been going on in that country for several centuries, and of late with increased energy, between prerogative and freedom—the crown and the aristocracy on the one hand, and the people on the other. Nature supplies an apt illustration of it, in the dash of the ocean against a majestic cliff—assailing it from year to year with the steady flux and reflux of the tide—now lashing it with storms—and ever and anon gathering up its mighty surges, and discharging them upon it with a fury which makes it quiver to its topmost pinnacle.

Particle by particle, crag by crag, the granite barrier succumbs, and buries itself in the bosom of the waters. And step by step—never without resistance—sometimes from conviction—often from policy—and still oftener from fear—but still, step by step, power in Great Britain has bowed to right; prerogative has put off its purple, and come down reluctantly from its throne, and diffused itself among the people. Earnest patriots cannot brook this process. It is too tedious. They would have everything at once. But Providence is wiser and kinder than they. For the result has been, that in England the wheel of reform never goes backward. Obliged to contest every inch of ground, the people come to understand and to value their rights; and when they get them, they know what to do with them. Their progress, though moderate, is sure. If they are strangers to the ecstasy their mercurial neighbors have sometimes felt in celebrating the apotheosis of Liberty, they are no less strangers to their despondency and terror, on seeing their adored idol trampled to death in a night by a mob, or *garotted* by a military usurper.

It may not be necessary to fortify the position I am maintaining, by further examples, but there are facts of a very recent date bearing on this point, too instructive to be omitted. If these facts prove anything, it is that the populations of the continent are as yet without that training which would make *our* freedom a blessing to them—that if we could, within three months, reduplicate our institutions all over Europe, in place of the existing monarchies, it would require a standing army as large as our aggregate body of militia to keep them a-going for five years. The year 1848, the most remarkable and pregnant year in the chronicles of the other hemisphere for three centuries, witnessed a general movement throughout Europe towards the establishment of liberal institutions. In France, the monarchy was thrown down by a single popular outbreak, and a republic reared upon its ruins. In Sicily, a constitution was promised, though not actually framed, by the most savage tyrant who disgraces a throne in Christendom. An insurrection in Munich coerced a profligate king to abdicate his crown. Another in Berlin extorted from the capricious and incomprehensible king of Prussia most explicit stipulations touching the charter his subjects demanded, and which he had violated his oath by withholding. The minor German States adopted decisive measures for reconstructing their long-lost unity and nationality. The Austrians were driven out of Milan, and a provisional government established in Lombardy. Even Vienna was surrendered to the people, and a constitution wrung from the reluctant and autocratic emperor. While, in Italy, the phenomenon was presented of a Pope, the professed friend of popular rights and an avowed advocate of progress. It was here, indeed, this grand movement commenced. The way had been preparing under the pontificate of

Gregory XVI. The only nation blessed with an infallible ruler, was ruled so badly that their grievances had become intolerable; and it was for Pius IX., on his accession to the tiara, to choose between identifying himself with the mass of his people, and mitigating their burdens, or putting himself at the head of the Jesuit party, with the certainty of encountering a revolution. He decided for the former—not exclusively, we must believe, from motives of policy, but in obedience to the instincts of a heart not a stranger to humane and benevolent sentiments. He saw, for who in Italy could help seeing, that the people were ground down under insufferable oppressions; and he resolved to ameliorate their condition. Addressing himself with energy to the Augean task of removing abuses, he set about reducing the taxes, abolishing arbitrary imprisonments, regulating the administration of the finances, and promoting popular education. He granted amnesties to political offenders; announced his determination to found a representative government; and invited a congress of influential laymen from the different States of the Church to assist him in arranging the details of a constitution. The Italians were in an ecstasy. The despots of Europe in a frenzy. The people everywhere clamorous in their applause of the new Pontiff, and no-where more so than among ourselves. Enormous mass meetings were held in our cities, at which laudatory addresses to *Pio Nono* were adopted, and Protestants and

Romanists vied with each other in celebrating the magnanimity of the "greatest Reformer of the age."

And what has been the issue of all these auspicious demonstrations? What the meridian of the day which dawned so brightly upon Europe, and gave promise of a universal regeneration from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean—from the Straits of Dover to the Dardanelles? In the language of the North British Review, with "scarcely an exception, everything has fallen back into its old condition. In nearly every state the old demon of despotism has returned, bringing with it worse devils than itself. Hungary and Hesse are crushed; Bavaria has been degraded into the brutal tool of a more brutal tyrant; the Prussian people are sullen, desponding, and disarmed, and the Prussian government sunk into a terrible abyss of degradation; Austria has a new emperor, more insolently despotic than any of his predecessors for many a long year; and throughout Germany constitutional liberty has been effectually trampled out. In Italy, Venice and Lombardy have been reconquered, and are now experiencing the *vœ victis;* Tuscany is worse because more Austrian than before, and alarmed at the peril she has incurred; the small duchies are as bad as ever—they could not be worse; the Pope, terrified out of his benevolence and his patriotism, having fled from the Vatican in disgrace, has been restored by foreign arms, and the old ecclesiastical abominations are reinstated in their old supremacy;

while Naples and Sicily are again prostrate at the feet of the most imbecile and brutal of the incurable race of Bourbons. Two short years have passed away since Europe presented to the lover of liberty and human progress the most smiling aspect it had ever worn: and in this brief space of time, an inexorable destiny has gathered together all the far-reaching anticipations, all the noble prospects, all the rapid conquests, all the rich achievements of that memorable era, and covered them over with these two narrow words—*Hic jacet!*"

Why are these melancholy events cited? Not, certainly, to upbraid the patriots of the old world; nor to abate the indignation against their oppressors, which must inflame every generous bosom. But they are adduced to refute for the ten thousandth time, the absurd theories so prevalent in Europe, and so often propounded even here, respecting the necessary conditions of national freedom. If there are no journals now, which carry the heading attached to that of Camille Desmoulins: "There is no victim more agreeable to the gods than an immolated king," and no orators to maintain, that "the rights of the people can be written only in the blood of kings," it must not be supposed that this creed has become obsolete. It has its devotees, its shrines, its *propaganda,* and its purposes; and will have, so long as there are tyrants among princes, or anarchists among their subjects. And far more numerous, more respectable, and more influential than this band of regicides, is that heterogeneous body of patriots, comprising all faiths and languages, who insist that any nation can provide for itself which has the reins put into its own hands. These are the parties to be instructed, if that were possible, by the retrospect we have just taken, and by the facts drawn from our annals and those of England. Without pretending to specify the various causes which occasioned the disastrous results of the late European struggle, is not the incompetency of the revolutionists to turn the crisis to any hopeful account, too palpable to admit of a question? Is it not apparent, from the whole course of events between the banishment of Louis Philippe and the restoration of Pius IX., that the masses are not yet fitted for complete emancipation? In Robespierre's last speech before that Convention whose appetites he had so whetted with blood that they were now thirsting for his own, a speech of which Sir Walter Scott says, "it was as menacing as the first distant rustle of the hurricane, and dark and lurid as the eclipse which announces its approach," he observed: "Do not let us deceive ourselves: to found an immense republic upon the basis of reason and equality, to unite in a strong band all the parties of this immense empire, is not an enterprise which vanity can consummate: it is the master-piece of virtue and human reason. Every faction grows from the bosom of a great revolution—how suppress them, if you do not submit all their passions to justice? You have not any other guarantee of liberty than the vigorous observance of the principles of the universal morality which you have proclaimed. What signifies to us the conquest of kings, if we are vanquished by the vices which bring forth tyranny!"* Unhappily for himself and for France, he woke up to the grandeur and difficulty of the task his associates and himself had undertaken, only after the axe was suspended for his head, which had struck down so many of his victims. Too late did he discover, that a liberal constitution could not be kept alive in an atmosphere feculent with vice and drugged with atheism. But it is something to be able to cite just and weighty sentiments like these, from the lips of the great high-priest of Jacobinism. If the patriots who imagine that a country can be made free simply by driving the wheel of revolution through it, will not hear Robespierre speaking as from the scaffold, "neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

But the argument supplied by our history and institutions, is far more comprehensive. The great thing we have done for the world, has been, under Providence, *to establish and maintain a just, wise, and well-ordered government*—in all essential particulars, a "model" of what a government should be. This was what Europe needed: not elaborate disquisitions on the rights of man; still less, a tumultuous crusade to replace her despotisms with republican charters; but the steady, successful working, on a sufficiently extended scale, of a polity comprising the fundamental principles of true civil liberty—a system embracing the alleged incompatible elements of independence and stability; the supremacy of law and popular freedom; the unfettered exertion of personal aspirations in any and all departments of society, with the maintenance of order and the protection of private and public rights. In meeting this demand, we have rendered the old world an invaluable service, even in the way of elucidating abstract principles. France, Germany, Italy, all may learn here, if they will, why we have succeeded, and they have not; and how hopeless it is for them to expect to reach our ends, if they scoff at our means. This Republic is a standing refutation of their crude theories about human rights and social progress, the spawn of the miserable ignorance and impiety which reign among them. It pours contempt on the wretched quackery which, in a thousand forms, essays to cure their maladies without the aid of the BIBLE, or any recognition of the GOD of the Bible. It is a demonstration which no sagacity can subvert and no artifice elude, that "religion is the only basis on which the broad development of freedom can rest;"* that the only adequate buttresses of free institutions are intelligence and virtue; and that, to make a people virtuous and intelligent, you must give them, not treatises on Communism and Pantheism, not infidel commentaries on the Scriptures, not monkish legends and cathedral pantomimes, but the GOSPEL OF CHRIST. This has made us what we are; and this alone can make them what they ought to be. There are minds all over Europe beginning to perceive this, and to understand that the first step towards assimilating their institutions to ours, must be to secure for themselves an open Bible and a pure faith. Should a merciful Providence concede to them these priceless gifts, the political regeneration of Europe, with all other needful blessings, would soon follow in their train.

---

* Lamartine's Girondists.

---

* Kossuth to the New York Clergy.

In opposition, then, to all the schemes devised or to be devised for embroiling us in the disputes of the other continent, we maintain that the best thing we can do for the world, the only method in which we can fulfil the beneficent mission confided to us, is, to preserve this UNION inviolate. We hold it, let it be remembered, not for our own interest or honor merely, but as Trustees for mankind. It is ours to administer, but not to dispose of; ours to enjoy and to transmit, but not ours to destroy. We have no more right to destroy it, than we should have, if such a thing were possible, to blot the sun out of the firmament. For the entire race have a stake in this government. "Wherever you go, you find the United States held up as an example by the advocates of freedom. The mariner no more looks to his compass or takes his departure by the sun, than does the lover of liberty abroad shape his course by reference to the Constitution of the United States."*

The recent course of events, in either hemisphere has increased both the importance and the difficulty of the task thus devolved on us. Fresh causes of alienation, now happily repressed for a season, have sprung up among ourselves; and the disasters which have attended the popular movements abroad, are enlarging our domestic burdens and threatening to complicate our foreign relations. If, in the infancy of this country, Europe could regard us with comparative indifference, all indifference has vanished before our early and vigorous manhood. The name of the "United States" is mixed up with the intricate web of European Diplomacy; it gleams out in their state-papers; it is a watchword in every popular insurrection. Cabinets no longer ignore the question: "What course will the Government at Washington adopt?" The friends of liberty in every kingdom appeal to us to aid them in their projects, and these appeals are certain to be pressed by a large and powerful portion of our own population. It will be well if, in these critical circumstances, the present generation are content to tread in the steps of WASHINGTON; if, instead of plunging into the wars of Europe, we display our sympathy for liberty there by measures which will in the end do far more to promote it. Let us foster the growth of liberal principles among those nations, by all such diplomatic arrangements as we can adopt without compromising our settled policy of non-intervention. Let our countrymen prosecute the benevolent work of supplying them with the word of God; for they will never have rational and permanent liberty until they get the BIBLE. Let us educate and Christianize the masses they send to us, who not only act upon us for good or evil, but re-act with energy upon the countries they have left. And let us TAKE CARE OF OUR UNION; for this, in respect to constitutional liberty, is the last hope of Europe and of the world. A legion of adverse evils is arrayed against it. Ignorance, immorality, ambition, fanaticism, faction, lawlessness, sectional animosities, to which, with the condition of the other continent before us, may well be added, atheism, and the insidious, grasping spirit of the Papal Hierarchy—all are hostile to the Union, and must be met and vanquished if we would preserve it. With God's help, they can be vanquished. We have intelligence, talent, piety, and patriotism enough left to do this or anything else which may require to be done for the sake of our beloved country. Let all who really love the country, and desire to see the Union transmitted in its glorious integrity to our children, discharge their duty. Let the people be educated; the Bible lodged in every house; the Gospel everywhere preached; the Sabbath and its ordinances honored; wise and upright men selected as our rulers; the laws faithfully executed; God's universal providence acknowledged, and his protection continually invoked throughout our borders—and we may confidently expect the perpetuity of our institutions. We may look forward without presumption to a future as brilliant as our past career has been illustrious. We shall consummate with honor the sublime mission confided to us for mankind, and achieve a yet more signal fulfilment of the prophecy, "ALL NATIONS SHALL CALL YOU BLESSED!"

---

* Mr. Webster.

THE END.

CATALOGUE
OF
VALUABLE BOOKS,
PUBLISHED BY
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.,
(SUCCESSORS TO GRIGG, ELLIOT & CO.)
NO. 14 NORTH FOURTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA;
CONSISTING OF A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF
Bibles, Prayer-Books, Commentaries, Standard Poets,
MEDICAL, THEOLOGICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, ETC.,
PARTICULARLY SUITABLE FOR
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIBRARIES.
FOR SALE BY BOOKSELLERS AND COUNTRY MERCHANTS GENERALLY THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

THE BEST & MOST COMPLETE FAMILY COMMENTARY.

The Comprehensive Commentary on the Holy Bible;
CONTAINING
THE TEXT ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION,
SCOTT'S MARGINAL REFERENCES; MATTHEW HENRY'S COMMENTARY, CONDENSED, BUT RETAINING EVERY USEFUL THOUGHT; THE PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS OF REV. THOMAS SCOTT, D. D.;
WITH EXTENSIVE
EXPLANATORY, CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL NOTES,

Selected from Scott, Doddridge, Gill, Adam Clarke, Patrick, Poole, Lowth, Burder, Harmer, Calmet, Rosenmueller, Bloomfield, Stuart, Bush, Dwight, and many other writers on the Scriptures.

The whole designed to be a digest and combination of the advantages of the best Bible Commentaries, and embracing nearly all that is valuable in

HENRY, SCOTT, AND DODDRIDGE.

Conveniently arranged for family and private reading, and, at the same time, particularly adapted to the wants of Sabbath-School Teachers and Bible Classes; with numerous useful tables, and a neatly engraved Family Record.

Edited by Rev. WILLIAM JENKS, D. D.,
PASTOR OF GREEN STREET CHURCH, BOSTON.

Embellished with five portraits, and other elegant engravings, from steel plates; with several maps and many wood-cuts, illustrative of Scripture Manners, Customs, Antiquities, &c. In 6 vols. super-royal 8vo.

Including Supplement, bound in cloth, sheep, calf, &c., varying in
Price from $10 to $15.

The whole forming the most valuable as well as the cheapest Commentary published in the world.

NOTICES AND RECOMMENDATIONS
OF THE
COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY.

The Publishers select the following from the testimonials they have received as to the value of the work:

We, the subscribers, having examined the *Comprehensive Commentary*, issued from the press of Messrs. L., G. & Co., and highly approving its character, would cheerfully and confidently recommend it as containing more matter and more advantages than any other with which we are acquainted; and considering the expense incurred, and the excellent manner of its mechanical execution, we believe it to be one of the *cheapest* works ever issued from the press. We hope the publishers will be sustained by a liberal patronage, in their expensive and useful undertaking. We should be pleased to learn that every family in the United States had procured a copy.

B. B. WISNER, D. D., Secretary of Am. Board of Com. for For. Missions.
WM. COGSWELL, D. D., " " Education Society.
JOHN CODMAN, D. D., Pastor of Congregational Church, Dorchester.
Rev. HUBBARD WINSLOW, " " Bowdoin street, Dorchester.
Rev. SEWALL HARDING, Pastor of T. C. Church, Waltham.
Rev. J. H. FAIRCHILD, Pastor of Congregational Church, South Boston.
GARDINER SPRING, D. D., Pastor of Presbyterian Church, New York city.
CYRUS MASON, D. D., " " " " "
THOS. M'AULEY, D. D., " " " " "
JOHN WOODBRIDGE, D. D., " " " " "
THOS. DEWITT, D. D., " Dutch Ref. " " "
E. W. BALDWIN, D. D., " " " " "
Rev. J. M. M'KREBS, " Presbyterian " " "
Rev. ERSKINE MASON, " " " " "
Rev. J. S. SPENCER, " " " Brooklyn.
EZRA STILES ELY, D. D., Stated Clerk of Gen. Assem. of Presbyterian Church.
JOHN M'DOWELL, D. D., Permanent " " " "
JOHN BRECKENRIDGE, Corresponding Secretary of Assembly's Board of Education.
SAMUEL B. WYLIE, D. D., Pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.
N. LORD, D. D., President of Dartmouth College.
JOSHUA BATES, D. D., President of Middlebury College.
H. HUMPHREY, D. D., " Amherst College.
E. D. GRIFFIN, D. D., " Williamstown College.
J. WHEELER, D. D., " University of Vermont, at Burlington.
J. M. MATTHEWS, D. D., " New York City University.
GEORGE E. PIERCE, D. D., " Western Reserve College, Ohio.
Rev. Dr. BROWN, " Jefferson College, Penn.
LEONARD WOODS, D. D., Professor of Theology, Andover Seminary.
THOS. H. SKINNER, D. D., " Sac. Rhet. " "
Rev. RALPH EMERSON, " Eccl. Hist. " "
Rev. JOEL PARKER, Pastor of Presbyterian Church, New Orleans.
JOEL HAWES, D. D., " Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn.
N. S. S. BEAMAN, D. D., " Presbyterian Church, Troy, N. Y.
MARK TUCKER, D. D., " " " " "
Rev. E. N. KIRK, " " " Albany, N. Y.
Rev. E. B. EDWARDS, Editor of Quarterly Observer.
Rev. STEPHEN MASON, Pastor First Congregational Church, Nantucket.
Rev. ORIN FOWLER, " " " " Fall River.
GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D., Pastor of the First Reformed Dutch Church, Philada.
Rev. LYMAN BEECHER, D. D., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rev. C. D. MALLORY, Pastor Baptist Church, Augusta, Ga.
Rev. S. M. NOEL, " " " Frankfort, Ky.

From the Professors at Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Comprehensive Commentary contains the whole of Henry's Exposition in a condensed form, Scott's Practical Observations and Marginal References, and a large number of very valuable philological and critical notes, selected from various authors. The work appears to be executed with judgment, fidelity, and care; and will furnish a rich treasure of scriptural knowledge to the Biblical student, and to the teachers of Sabbath-Schools and Bible Classes.

A. ALEXANDER, D. D.
SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.
CHARLES HODGE, D. D.

The Companion to the Bible.

In one super-royal volume.

DESIGNED TO ACCOMPANY

THE FAMILY BIBLE,

OR HENRY'S, SCOTT'S, CLARKE'S, GILL'S, OR OTHER COMMENTARIES:

CONTAINING

1. A new, full, and complete Concordance;

Illustrated with monumental, traditional, and oriental engravings, founded on Butterworth's, with Cruden's definitions; forming, it is believed, on many accounts, a more valuable work than either Butterworth, Cruden, or any other similar book in the language.

The value of a Concordance is now generally understood; and those who have used one, consider it indispensable in connection with the Bible.

2. A Guide to the Reading and Study of the Bible;

being Carpenter's valuable Biblical Companion, lately published in London, containing a complete history of the Bible, and forming a most excellent introduction to its study. It embraces the evidences of Christianity, Jewish antiquities, manners, customs, arts, natural history, &c., of the Bible, with notes and engravings added.

3. Complete Biographies of Henry, by Williams; Scott, by his son; Doddridge, by Orton;

with sketches of the lives and characters, and notices of the works, of the writers on the Scriptures who are quoted in the Commentary, living and dead, American and foreign.

This part of the volume not only affords a large quantity of interesting and useful reading for pious families, but will also be a source of gratification to all those who are in the habit of consulting the Commentary; every one naturally feeling a desire to know some particulars of the lives and characters of those whose opinions he seeks. Appended to this part, will be a

BIBLIOTHECA BIBLICA,

or list of the best works on the Bible, of all kinds, arranged under their appropriate heads.

4. A complete Index of the Matter contained in the Bible Text.

5. A Symbolical Dictionary.

A very comprehensive and valuable Dictionary of Scripture Symbols, (occupying about *fifty-six* closely printed pages,) by Thomas Wemyss, (author of "Biblical Gleanings," &c.) Comprising Daubuz, Lancaster, Hutcheson, &c.

6. The Work contains several other Articles,

Indexes, Tables, &c. &c., and is,

7. Illustrated by a large Plan of Jerusalem,

identifying, as far as tradition, &c., go, the original sites, drawn on the spot by F. Catherwood, of London, architect. Also, two steel engravings of portraits of seven foreign and eight American theological writers, and numerous wood engravings.

The whole forms a desirable and necessary fund of instruction for the use not only of clergymen and Sabbath-school teachers, but also for families. When the great amount of matter it must contain is considered, it will be deemed exceedingly cheap.

"I have examined 'The Companion to the Bible,' and have been surprised to find so much information introduced into a volume of so moderate a size. It contains a library of sacred knowledge and criticism. It will be useful to ministers who own large libraries, and cannot fail to be an invaluable help to every reader of the Bible."

HENRY MORRIS.
Pastor of Congregational Church, Vermont.

The above work can be had in several styles of binding. Price varying from $1 75 to $5 00.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

In one super-royal volume.

DERIVED PRINCIPALLY FROM THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ANTIQUITIES, TRADITIONS, AND FORMS OF SPEECH, RITES, CLIMATE, WORKS OF ART, AND LITERATURE OF THE EASTERN NATIONS:

EMBODYING ALL THAT IS VALUABLE IN THE WORKS OF

ROBERTS, HARMER, BURDER, PAXTON, CHANDLER,

And the most celebrated oriental travellers. Embracing also the subject of the Fulfilment of Prophecy, as exhibited by Keith and others; with descriptions of the present state of countries and places mentioned in the Sacred Writings.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS LANDSCAPE ENGRAVINGS,

FROM SKETCHES TAKEN ON THE SPOT.

Edited by Rev. George Bush,

Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the New York City University.

The importance of this work must be obvious, and, being altogether *illustrative*, without reference to doctrines, or other points in which Christians differ, it is hoped it will meet with favour from all who love the sacred volume, and that it will be sufficiently interesting and attractive to recommend itself, not only to professed Christians of *all* denominations, but also to the general reader. The arrangement of the texts illustrated with the notes, in the order of the chapters and verses of the authorized version of the Bible, will render it convenient for reference to particular passages; while the *copious Index* at the end will at once enable the reader to turn to every subject discussed in the volume.

This volume is not designed to take the place of Commentaries, but is a distinct department of biblical instruction, and may be used as a companion to the Comprehensive or any other Commentary, or the Holy Bible.

THE ENGRAVINGS

in this volume, it is believed, will form no small part of its attractions. No pains have been spared to procure such as should embellish the work, and, at the same time, illustrate the text. Objections that have been made to the pictures commonly introduced into the Bible, as being mere creations of fancy and the imagination, often unlike nature, and frequently conveying false impressions, cannot be urged against the pictorial illustrations of this volume. Here the fine arts are made subservient to utility, the landscape views being, without an exception, *matter-of-fact views of places mentioned in Scripture, as they appear at the present day*; thus in many instances exhibiting, in the most forcible manner, *to the eye*, the strict and *literal* fulfilment of the remarkable prophecies; "the present ruined and desolate condition of the cities of Babylon, Nineveh, Selah, &c., and the countries of Edom and Egypt, are astonishing examples, and so completely exemplify, in the most minute particulars, every thing which was foretold of them in the height of their prosperity, that no better description can now be given of them than a simple quotation from a chapter and verse of the Bible written nearly two or three thousand years ago." The publishers are enabled to select from several collections lately published in London, the proprietor of one of which says that "several distinguished travellers have afforded him the use of nearly *Three Hundred Original Sketches*" of Scripture places, made upon the spot. "The land of Palestine, it is well known, abounds in scenes of the most picturesque beauty. Syria comprehends the snowy heights of Lebanon, and the majestic ruins of Tadmor and Baalbec."

The above work can be had in various styles of binding.

Price from $1 50 to $5 00.

THE ILLUSTRATED CONCORDANCE,

In one volume, royal 8vo.

A new, full, and complete Concordance; illustrated with monumental, traditional, and oriental engravings, founded on Butterworth's, with Cruden's definitions; forming, it is believed, on many accounts, a more valuable work than either Butterworth, Cruden, or any other similar book in the language.

The value of a Concordance is now generally understood; and those who have used one, consider it indispensable in connection with the Bible. Some of the many advantages the Illustrated Concordance has over all the others, are, that it contains near two hundred appropriate engravings: it is printed on fine white paper, with beautiful large type.

Price One Dollar.

LIPPINCOTT'S EDITION OF
BAGSTER'S COMPREHENSIVE BIBLE.

In order to develope the peculiar nature of the Comprehensive Bible, it will only be necessary to embrace its more prominent features.

1st. The SACRED TEXT is that of the Authorized Version, and is printed from the edition corrected and improved by Dr. Blaney, which, from its accuracy, is considered the standard edition.

2d. The VARIOUS READINGS are faithfully printed from the edition of Dr. Blaney, inclusive of the translation of the proper names, without the addition or diminution of one.

3d. In the CHRONOLOGY, great care has been taken to fix the date of the particular transactions, which has seldom been done with any degree of exactness in any former edition of the Bible.

4th. The NOTES are exclusively philological and explanatory, and are not tinctured with sentiments of any sect or party. They are selected from the most eminent Biblical critics and commentators.

It is hoped that this edition of the Holy Bible will be found to contain the essence of Biblical research and criticism, that lies dispersed through an immense number of volumes.

Such is the nature and design of this edition of the Sacred Volume, which, from the various objects it embraces, the freedom of its pages from all sectarian peculiarities, and the beauty, plainness, and correctness of the typography, that it cannot fail of proving acceptable and useful to Christians of every denomination.

In addition to the usual references to parallel passages, which are quite full and numerous, the student has all the marginal readings, together with a rich selection of *Philological, Critical, Historical, Geographical,* and other valuable notes and remarks, which explain and illustrate the sacred text. Besides the general introduction, containing valuable essays on the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and other topics of interest, there are introductory and concluding remarks to each book—a table of the contents of the Bible, by which the different portions are so arranged as to read in an historical order.

Arranged at the top of each page is the period in which the prominent events of sacred history took place. The calculations are made for the year of the world before and after Christ, Julian Period, the year of the Olympiad, the year of the building of Rome, and other notations of time. At the close is inserted a Chronological Index of the Bible, according to the computation of Archbishop Ussher. Also, a full and valuable index of the *subjects* contained in the Old and New Testaments, with a careful analysis and arrangement of texts under their appropriate subjects.

Mr. Greenfield, the editor of this work, and for some time previous to his death the superintendent of the editorial department of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was a most extraordinary man. In editing the Comprehensive Bible, his varied and extensive learning was called into successful exercise, and appears in happy combination with sincere piety and a sound judgment. The Editor of the Christian Observer, alluding to this work, in an obituary notice of its author, speaks of it as a work of "prodigious labour and research, at once exhibiting his varied talents and profound erudition."

~~~

LIPPINCOTT'S EDITION OF
THE OXFORD QUARTO BIBLE.

The Publishers have spared neither care nor expense in their edition of the Bible; it is printed on the finest white vellum paper, with large and beautiful type, and bound in the most substantial and splendid manner, in the following styles: Velvet, with richly gilt ornaments; Turkey super extra, with gilt clasps; and in numerous others, to suit the taste of the most fastidious.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"In our opinion, the Christian public generally will feel under great obligations to the publishers of this work for the beautiful taste, arrangement, and delicate neatness with which they have got it out. The intrinsic merit of the Bible recommends itself; it needs no tinsel ornament to adorn its sacred pages. In this edition every superfluous ornament has been avoided, and we have presented us a perfectly chaste specimen of the Bible, without note or comment. It appears to be just what is needed in every family—'the *unsophisticated* word of God.'

"The size is quarto, printed with beautiful type, on white, sized vellum paper, of the finest texture and most beautiful surface. The publishers seem to have been solicitous to make a perfectly unique book, and they have accomplished the object very successfully. We trust that a liberal community will afford them ample remuneration for all the expense and outlay they have necessarily incurred in its publication. It is a standard Bible.

"The publishers are Messrs. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., No. 14 North Fourth street, Philadelphia." — *Baptist Record.*

"A beautiful quarto edition of the Bible, by L., G. & Co. Nothing can exceed the type in clearness and beauty; the paper is of the finest texture, and the whole execution is exceedingly neat. No illustrations or ornamental type are used. Those who prefer a Bible executed in perfect simplicity, yet elegance of style, without adornment, will probably never find one more to their taste." — *M. Magazine.*
~~~

LIPPINCOTT'S EDITIONS OF

THE HOLY BIBLE.

SIX DIFFERENT SIZES,

Printed in the best manner, with beautiful type, on the finest sized paper, and bound in the most splendid and substantial styles. Warranted to be correct, and equal to the best English editions, at much less price. To be had with or without plates; the publishers having supplied themselves with over fifty steel engravings, by the first artists.

Baxter's Comprehensive Bible,

Royal quarto, containing the various readings and marginal notes; disquisitions on the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; introductory and concluding remarks to each book; philological and explanatory notes; table of contents, arranged in historical order; a chronological index, and various other matter; forming a suitable book for the study of clergymen, Sabbath-school teachers, and students.

In neat plain binding, from $4 00 to $5 00.—In Turkey morocco, extra, gilt edges, from $8 00 to $12 00.—In do., with splendid plates, $10 00 to $15 00.—In do., bevelled side, gilt clasps and illuminations, $15 00 to $25 00.

The Oxford Quarto Bible,

Without note or comment, universally admitted to be the most beautiful Bible extant.

In neat plain binding, from $4 00 to $5 00.—In Turkey morocco, extra, gilt edges, $8 00 to $12 00.—In do., with steel engravings, $10 00 to $15 00.—In do., clasps, &c., with plates and illuminations, $15 00 to $25 00.—In rich velvet, with gilt ornaments, $25 00 to $50 00.

Crown Octavo Bible,

Printed with large clear type, making a most convenient hand Bible for family use.

In neat plain binding, from 75 cents to $1 50.—In English Turkey morocco, gilt edges, $1 00 to $2 00.—In do., imitation, &c., $1 50 to $3 00.—In do., clasps, &c., $2 50 to $5 00.—In rich velvet, with gilt ornaments, $5 00 to $10 00.

The Sunday-School Teacher's Polyglot Bible, with Maps, &c.,

In neat plain binding, from 60 cents to $1 00.—In imitation gilt edge, $1 00 to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 75 to $2 25.—In do. do., with clasps, $2 50 to $3 75.—In velvet, rich gilt ornaments, $3 50 to $8 00.

The Oxford 18mo., or Pew Bible,

In neat plain binding, from 50 cents to $1 00.—In imitation gilt edge, $1 00 to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 75 to $2 25.—In do. do., with clasps, $2 50 to $3 75.—In velvet, rich gilt ornaments, $3 50 to $8 00.

Agate 32mo. Bible,

Printed with larger type than any other small or pocket edition extant.

In neat plain binding, from 50 cents to $1 00.—In tucks, or pocket-book style, 75 cents to $1 00.—In roan, imitation gilt edge, $1 00 to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 00 to $2 00.—In do. do., gilt clasps, $2 50 to $3 50.—In velvet, with rich gilt ornaments, $3 00 to $7 00.

32mo. Diamond Pocket Bible;

The neatest, smallest, and cheapest edition of the Bible published.

In neat plain binding, from 30 to 50 cents.—In tucks, or pocket-book style, 60 cents to $1 00.—In roan, imitation gilt edge, 75 cents to $1 25.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 00 to $1 50.—In do. do., gilt clasps, $1 50 to $2 00.—In velvet, with richly gilt ornaments, $2 50 to $6 00.

CONSTANTLY ON HAND,

A large assortment of BIBLES, bound in the most splendid and costly styles, with gold and silver ornaments, suitable for presentation; ranging in price from $10 00 to $100 00.

A liberal discount made to Booksellers and Agents by the Publishers.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE;

OR, DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, THEOLOGY, RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY, ALL RELIGIONS, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, AND MISSIONS.

Designed as a complete Book of Reference on all Religious Subjects, and Companion to the Bible; forming a cheap and compact Library of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Rev. J. Newton Brown. Illustrated by wood-cuts, maps, and engravings on copper and steel. In one volume, royal 8vo. Price, $4 00.

Lippincott's Standard Editions of
THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.
IN SIX DIFFERENT SIZES,

ILLUSTRATED WITH A NUMBER OF STEEL PLATES AND ILLUMINATIONS.
COMPREHENDING THE MOST VARIED AND SPLENDID ASSORTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE ILLUMINATED OCTAVO PRAYER-BOOK,

Printed in seventeen different colours of ink, and illustrated with a number of Steel Plates and Illuminations; making one of the most splendid books published. To be had in any variety of the most superb binding, ranging in prices.

In Turkey, super extra, from $5 00 to $8 00.—In do. do., with clasps, $6 00 to $10 00.—In do. do., bevelled and panelled edges, $8 00 to $15 00.—In velvet, richly ornamented, $12 00 to $20 00.

8vo.

In neat plain binding, from $1 50 to $2 00.—In imitation gilt edge, $2 00 to $3 00.—In Turkey, super extra, $2 50 to $4 50.—In do. do., with clasps, $3 00 to $5 00.—In velvet, richly gilt ornaments, $5 00 to $12 00.

16mo.

Printed throughout with large and elegant type.

In neat plain binding, from 75 cents to $1 50.—In Turkey morocco, extra, with plates, $1 75 to $3 00.—In do. do., with plates, clasps, &c., $2 50 to $5 00.—In velvet, with richly gilt ornaments, $4 00 to $9 00.

18mo.

In neat plain binding, from 25 to 75 cents.—In Turkey morocco, with plates, $1 25 to $2 00.—In velvet, with richly gilt ornaments, $3 00 to $8 00.

32mo.

A beautiful Pocket Edition, with large type.

In neat plain binding, from 50 cents to $1 00.—In roan, imitation gilt edge, 75 cents to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 25 to $2 00.—In do. do., gilt clasps, $2 00 to $3 00.—In velvet, with richly gilt ornaments, $3 00 to $7 00.

32mo., Pearl type.

In plain binding, from 25 to 37 1-2 cents.—Roan, 37 1-2 to 50 cents.—Imitation Turkey, 50 cents to $1 00.—Turkey, super extra, with gilt edge, $1 00 to $1 50.—Pocket-book style, 60 to 75 cents.

PROPER LESSONS.
18mo.

A BEAUTIFUL EDITION, WITH LARGE TYPE.

In neat plain binding, from 50 cents to $1 00.—In roan, imitation gilt edge, 75 cents to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 50 to $2 00.—In do. do., gilt clasps, $2 50 to $3 00.—In velvet, with richly gilt ornaments, $3 00 to $7 00.

THE BIBLE AND PRAYER-BOOK,

In one neat and portable volume.

32mo., in neat plain binding, from 75 cents to $1 00.—In imitation Turkey, $1 00 to $1 50.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 50 to $2 50.

18mo, in large type, plain, $1 75 to $2 50.—In imitation, $1 00 to $1 75.—In Turkey, super extra, $1 75 to $3 00. Also, with clasps, velvet, &c. &c.

* * *

The Errors of Modern Infidelity Illustrated and Refuted.

BY S. M. SCHMUCKER, A. M.

In one volume, 12mo.; cloth. Just published.

We cannot but regard this work, in whatever light we view it in reference to its design, as one of the most masterly productions of the age, and fitted to uproot one of the most fondly cherished and dangerous of all ancient or modern errors. God must bless such a work, armed with his own truth, and doing fierce and successful battle against black infidelity, which would bring His Majesty and Word down to the tribunal of human reason, for condemnation and annihilation.—*Alb. Spectator.*

The Clergy of America:

CONSISTING OF

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER OF MINISTERS OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES,

BY JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D.,

Editor of "The Complete Works of Andrew Fuller," "Robert Hall," &c.

"This very interesting and instructive collection of pleasing and solemn remembrances of many pious men, illustrates the character of the day in which they lived, and defines the men more clearly than very elaborate essays."—*Baltimore American.*

"We regard the collection as highly interesting, and judiciously made."—*Presbyterian.*

JOSEPHUS'S (FLAVIUS) WORKS,

FAMILY EDITION.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM WHISTON, A. M.

FROM THE LAST LONDON EDITION, COMPLETE.

One volume, beautifully illustrated with Steel Plates, and the only readable edition published in this country.

As a matter of course, every family in our country has a copy of the Holy Bible; and as the presumption is that the greater portion often consult its pages, we take the liberty of saying to all those that do, that the perusal of the writings of Josephus will be found very interesting and instructive.

All those who wish to possess a beautiful and correct copy of this valuable work, would do well to purchase this edition. It is for sale at all the principal bookstores in the United States, and by country merchants generally in the Southern and Western States.

Also, the above work in two volumes.

BURDER'S VILLAGE SERMONS;

Or, 101 Plain and Short Discourses on the Principal Doctrines of the Gospel.

INTENDED FOR THE USE OF FAMILIES, SUNDAY-SCHOOLS, OR COMPANIES ASSEMBLED FOR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN COUNTRY VILLAGES.

BY GEORGE BURDER.

To which is added to each Sermon, a Short Prayer, with some General Prayers for Families, Schools, &c., at the end of the work.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

These sermons, which are characterized by a beautiful simplicity, the entire absence of controversy, and a true evangelical spirit, have gone through many and large editions, and been translated into several of the continental languages. "They have also been the honoured means not only of converting many individuals, but also of introducing the Gospel into districts, and even into parish churches, where before it was comparatively unknown."

"This work fully deserves the immortality it has attained."

This is a fine library edition of this invaluable work; and when we say that it should be found in the possession of every family, we only reiterate the sentiments and sincere wishes of all who take a deep interest in the eternal welfare of mankind.

FAMILY PRAYERS AND HYMNS,

ADAPTED TO FAMILY WORSHIP,

AND

TABLES FOR THE REGULAR READING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

By Rev. S. C. Winchester, A. M.,

Late Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia; and the Presbyterian Church at Natchez, Miss.

One volume, 12mo.

SPLENDID LIBRARY EDITIONS.

ILLUSTRATED STANDARD POETS.

ELEGANTLY PRINTED, ON FINE PAPER, AND UNIFORM IN SIZE AND STYLE.

The following Editions of Standard British Poets are illustrated with numerous Steel Engravings, and may be had in all varieties of binding.

BYRON'S WORKS.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

INCLUDING ALL HIS SUPPRESSED AND ATTRIBUTED POEMS; WITH SIX BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

This edition has been carefully compared with the recent London edition of Mr. Murray, and made complete by the addition of more than fifty pages of poems heretofore unpublished in England. Among these there are a number that have never appeared in any American edition; and the publishers believe they are warranted in saying that this is *the most complete edition of Lord Byron's Poetical Works* ever published in the United States.

The Poetical Works of Mrs. Hemans.

Complete in one volume, octavo; with seven beautiful Engravings.

This is a new and complete edition, with a splendid engraved likeness of Mrs. Hemans, on steel, and contains all the Poems in the last London and American editions. With a Critical Preface by Mr. Thatcher, of Boston.

"As no work in the English language can be commended with more confidence, it will argue bad taste in a female in this country to be without a complete edition of the writings of one who was an honour to her sex and to humanity, and whose productions, from first to last, contain no syllable calculated to call a blush to the cheek of modesty and virtue. There is, moreover, in Mrs. Hemans's poetry, a moral purity and a religious feeling which commend it, in an especial manner, to the discriminating reader. No parent or guardian will be under the necessity of imposing restrictions with regard to the free perusal of every production emanating from this gifted woman. There breathes throughout the whole a most eminent exemption from impropriety of thought or diction; and there is at times a pensiveness of tone, a winning sadness in her more serious compositions, which tells of a soul which has been lifted from the contemplation of terrestrial things, to divine communings with beings of a purer world."

MILTON, YOUNG, GRAY, BEATTIE, AND COLLINS'S POETICAL WORKS.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

WITH SIX BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

Cowper and Thomson's Prose and Poetical Works.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

Including two hundred and fifty Letters, and sundry Poems of Cowper, never before published in this country; and of Thomson a new and interesting Memoir, and upwards of twenty new Poems, for the first time printed from his own Manuscripts, taken from a late Edition of the Aldine Poets, now publishing in London.

WITH SEVEN BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

The distinguished Professor Silliman, speaking of this edition, observes: "I am as much gratified by the elegance and fine taste of your edition, as by the noble tribute of genius and moral excellence which these delightful authors have left for all future generations; and Cowper, especially, is not less conspicuous as a true Christian, moralist and teacher, than as a poet of great power and exquisite taste."

THE POETICAL WORKS OF ROGERS, CAMPBELL, MONTGOMERY, LAMB, AND KIRKE WHITE.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

WITH SIX BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

The beauty, correctness, and convenience of this favourite edition of these standard authors are so well known, that it is scarcely necessary to add a word in its favour. It is only necessary to say, that the publishers have now issued an illustrated edition, which greatly enhances its former value. The engravings are excellent and well selected. It is the best library edition extant.

CRABBE, HEBER, AND POLLOK'S POETICAL WORKS.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

WITH SIX BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

A writer in the Boston Traveller holds the following language with reference to these valuable editions:—

"Mr. Editor: — I wish, without any idea of puffing, to say a word or two upon the 'Library of English Poets' that is now published at Philadelphia, by Lippincott, Grambo & Co. It is certainly, taking into consideration the elegant manner in which it is printed, and the reasonable price at which it is afforded to purchasers, the best edition of the modern British Poets that has ever been published in this country. Each volume is an octavo of about 500 pages, double columns, stereotyped, and accompanied with fine engravings and biographical sketches; and most of them are reprinted from Galignani's French edition. As to its value, we need only mention that it contains the entire works of Montgomery, Gray, Beattie, Collins, Byron, Cowper, Thomson, Milton, Young, Rogers, Campbell, Lamb, Hemans, Heber, Kirke White, Crabbe, the Miscellaneous Works of Goldsmith, and other masters of the lyre. The publishers are doing a great service by their publication, and their volumes are almost in as great demand as the fashionable novels of the day; and they deserve to be so: for they are certainly printed in a style superior to that in which we have before had the works of the English Poets."

No library can be considered complete without a copy of the above beautiful and cheap editions of the English Poets; and persons ordering all or any of them, will please say Lippincott, Grambo & Co.'s illustrated editions.

A COMPLETE

Dictionary of Poetical Quotations:

COMPRISING THE MOST EXCELLENT AND APPROPRIATE PASSAGES IN THE OLD BRITISH POETS; WITH CHOICE AND COPIOUS SELECTIONS FROM THE BEST MODERN BRITISH AND AMERICAN POETS.

EDITED BY SARAH JOSEPHA HALE.

As nightingales do upon glow-worms feed,
So poets live upon the living light
Of Nature and of Beauty.
Bailey's Festus.

Beautifully illustrated with Engravings. In one super-royal octavo volume, in various bindings.

The publishers extract, from the many highly complimentary notices of the above valuable and beautiful work, the following:

"We have at last a volume of Poetical Quotations worthy of the name. It contains nearly six hundred octavo pages, carefully and tastefully selected from all the home and foreign authors of celebrity. It is invaluable to a writer, while to the ordinary reader it presents every subject at a glance." — *Godey's Lady's Book.*

"The plan or idea of Mrs. Hale's work is felicitous. It is one for which her fine taste, her orderly habits of mind, and her long occupation with literature, has given her peculiar facilities; and thoroughly has she accomplished her task in the work before us." — *Sartain's Magazine.*

"It is a choice collection of poetical extracts from every English and American author worth perusing, from the days of Chaucer to the present time." — *Washington Union.*

"There is nothing negative about this work; it is *positively* good." — *Evening Bulletin.*

THE DIAMOND EDITION OF BYRON.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF LORD BYRON,

WITH A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

COMPLETE IN ONE NEAT DUODECIMO VOLUME, WITH STEEL PLATES.

The type of this edition is so perfect, and it is printed with so much care, on fine white paper, that it can be read with as much ease as most of the larger editions. This work is to be had in plain and superb binding, making a beautiful volume for a gift.

"*The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, complete in one volume; published by L., G. & Co., Philadelphia. We hazard nothing in saying that, take it altogether, this is the most elegant work ever issued from the American press.

"'In a single volume, not larger than an ordinary duodecimo, the publishers have embraced the whole of Lord Byron's Poems, usually printed in ten or twelve volumes; and, what is more remarkable, have done it with a type so clear and distinct, that, notwithstanding its necessarily small size, it may be read with the utmost facility, even by failing eyes. The book is stereotyped; and never have we seen a finer specimen of that art. Everything about it is perfect—the paper, the printing, the binding, all correspond with each other; and it is embellished with two fine engravings, well worthy the companionship in which they are placed.

"'This will make a beautiful Christmas present.'

"We extract the above from Godey's Lady's Book. The notice itself, we are given to understand, is written by Mrs. Hale.

"We have to add our commendation in favour of this beautiful volume, a copy of which has been sent us by the publishers. The admirers of the noble bard will feel obliged to the enterprise which has prompted the publishers to dare a competition with the numerous editions of his works already in circulation; and we shall be surprised if this convenient travelling edition does not in a great degree supersede the use of the large octavo works, which have little advantage in size and openness of type, and are much inferior in the qualities of portability and lightness."—*Intelligencer.*

THE DIAMOND EDITION OF MOORE.

(CORRESPONDING WITH BYRON.)

THE POETICAL WORKS OF THOMAS MOORE,

COLLECTED BY HIMSELF.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

This work is published uniform with Byron, from the last London edition, and is the most complete printed in the country.

THE DIAMOND EDITION OF SHAKSPEARE,

(COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME,)

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

UNIFORM WITH BYRON AND MOORE.

THE ABOVE WORKS CAN BE HAD IN SEVERAL VARIETIES OF BINDING.

GOLDSMITH'S ANIMATED NATURE.

IN TWO VOLUMES, OCTAVO.

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED WITH 385 PLATES.

CONTAINING A HISTORY OF THE EARTH, ANIMALS, BIRDS, AND FISHES; FORMING THE MOST COMPLETE NATURAL HISTORY EVER PUBLISHED.

This is a work that should be in the library of every family, having been written by one of the most talented authors in the English language.

"Goldsmith can never be made obsolete while delicate genius, exquisite feeling, fine invention, the most harmonious metre, and the happiest diction, are at all valued."

BIGLAND'S NATURAL HISTORY

Of Animals, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects. Illustrated with numerous and beautiful Engravings. By JOHN BIGLAND, author of a "View of the World," "Letters on Universal History," &c. Complete in 1 vol., 12mo.

THE POWER AND PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE UNITED STATES; Its Power and Progress.

BY GUILLAUME TELL POUSSIN,

LATE MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE THIRD PARIS EDITION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY EDMOND L. DU BARRY, M. D.,

SURGEON U. S. NAVY.

In one large octavo volume.

SCHOOLCRAFT'S GREAT NATIONAL WORK ON THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES,

WITH BEAUTIFUL AND ACCURATE COLOURED ILLUSTRATIONS.

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY, CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

Indian Tribes of the United States.

COLLECTED AND PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, PER ACT OF MARCH 3, 1847,

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, LL.D.

ILLUSTRATED BY S. EASTMAN, Capt. U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS.

THE AMERICAN GARDENER'S CALENDAR,

ADAPTED TO THE CLIMATE AND SEASONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Containing a complete account of all the work necessary to be done in the Kitchen Garden, Fruit Garden, Orchard, Vineyard, Nursery, Pleasure-Ground, Flower Garden, Green-house, Hot-house, and Forcing Frames, for every month in the year; with ample Practical Directions for performing the same.

Also, general as well as minute instructions for laying out or erecting each and every of the above departments, according to modern taste and the most approved plans; the Ornamental Planting of Pleasure Grounds, in the ancient and modern style; the cultivation of Thorn Quicks, and other plants suitable for Live Hedges, with the best methods of making them, &c. To which are annexed catalogues of Kitchen Garden Plants and Herbs; Aromatic, Pot, and Sweet Herbs; Medicinal Plants, and the most important Grapes, &c., used in rural economy; with the soil best adapted to their cultivation. Together with a copious Index to the body of the work.

BY BERNARD M'MAHON.

Tenth Edition, greatly improved. In one volume, octavo.

THE PORTFOLIO OF A SOUTHERN MEDICAL STUDENT.

BY GEORGE M. WHARTON, M. D.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY CROOME.

One volume, 12mo.

THE FARMER'S AND PLANTER'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

The Farmer's and Planter's Encyclopædia of Rural Affairs.

BY CUTHBERT W. JOHNSON.

ADAPTED TO THE UNITED STATES BY GOUVERNEUR EMERSON.

Illustrated by seventeen beautiful Engravings of Cattle, Horses, Sheep, the varieties of Wheat, Barley, Oats, Grasses, the Weeds of Agriculture, &c.; besides numerous Engravings on wood of the most important implements of Agriculture, &c.

This standard work contains the latest and best information upon all subjects connected with farming, and appertaining to the country; treating of the great crops of grain, hay, cotton, hemp, tobacco, rice, sugar, &c. &c.; of horses and mules; of cattle, with minute particulars relating to cheese and butter-making; of fowls, including a description of capon-making, with drawings of the instruments employed; of bees, and the Russian and other systems of managing bees and constructing hives. Long articles on the uses and preparation of bones, lime, guano, and all sorts of animal, mineral, and vegetable substances employed as manures. Descriptions of the most approved ploughs, harrows, threshers, and every other agricultural machine and implement; of fruit and shade trees, forest trees, and shrubs; of weeds, and all kinds of flies, and destructive worms and insects, and the best means of getting rid of them; together with a thousand other matters relating to rural life, about which information is so constantly desired by all residents of the country.

IN ONE LARGE OCTAVO VOLUME.

MASON'S FARRIER—FARMERS' EDITION.

Price, 62 cents.

THE PRACTICAL FARRIER, FOR FARMERS:

COMPRISING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE NOBLE AND USEFUL ANIMAL,

THE HORSE;

WITH MODES OF MANAGEMENT IN ALL CASES, AND TREATMENT IN DISEASE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A PRIZE ESSAY ON MULES; AND AN APPENDIX,

Containing Recipes for Diseases of Horses, Oxen, Cows, Calves, Sheep, Dogs, Swine, &c. &c.

BY RICHARD MASON, M. D.,

Formerly of Surry County, Virginia.

In one volume, 12mo.; bound in cloth, gilt.

MASON'S FARRIER AND STUD-BOOK—NEW EDITION.

THE GENTLEMAN'S NEW POCKET FARRIER:

COMPRISING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE NOBLE AND USEFUL ANIMAL,

THE HORSE;

WITH MODES OF MANAGEMENT IN ALL CASES, AND TREATMENT IN DISEASE.

BY RICHARD MASON, M. D.,

Formerly of Surry County, Virginia.

To which is added, A PRIZE ESSAY ON MULES; and AN APPENDIX, containing Recipes for Diseases of Horses, Oxen, Cows, Calves, Sheep, Dogs, Swine, &c. &c.; with Annals of the Turf, American Stud-Book, Rules for Training, Racing, &c.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT,

Comprising an Essay on Domestic Animals, especially the Horse; with Remarks on Treatment and Breeding; together with Trotting and Racing Tables, showing the best time on record at one, two, three and four mile heats; Pedigrees of Winning Horses, since 1839, and of the most celebrated Stallions and Mares; with useful Calving and Lambing Tables. By J. S. SKINNER, Editor now of the Farmer's Library, New York, &c. &c.

HINDS'S FARRIERY AND STUD-BOOK—NEW EDITION.

FARRIERY,

TAUGHT ON A NEW AND EASY PLAN:

BEING

A Treatise on the Diseases and Accidents of the Horse;

With Instructions to the Shoeing Smith, Farrier, and Groom; preceded by a Popular Description of the Animal Functions in Health, and how these are to be restored when disordered.

BY JOHN HINDS, VETERINARY SURGEON.

With considerable Additions and Improvements, particularly adapted to this country,

BY THOMAS M. SMITH,

Veterinary Surgeon, and Member of the London Veterinary Medical Society.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT, BY J. S. SKINNER.

The publishers have received numerous flattering notices of the great practical value of these works. The distinguished editor of the American Farmer, speaking of them, observes:—"We cannot too highly recommend these books, and therefore advise every owner of a horse to obtain them."

"There are receipts in those books that show how *Founder* may be cured, and the traveller pursue his journey the next day, by giving a *tablespoonful of alum*. This was got from Dr. P. Thornton, of Montpelier, Rappahannock county, Virginia, as founded on his own observation in several cases."

"The constant demand for Mason's and Hinds's Farrier has induced the publishers, Messrs. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., to put forth new editions, with a 'Supplement' of 100 pages, by J. S. Skinner, Esq. We should have sought to render an acceptable service to our agricultural readers, by giving a chapter from the Supplement, 'On the Relations between Man and the Domestic Animals, especially the Horse, and the Obligations they impose;' or the one on 'The Form of Animals;' but that either one of them would overrun the space here allotted to such subjects."

"Lists of Medicines, and other articles which ought to be at hand about every training and livery stable, and every Farmer's and Breeder's establishment, will be found in these valuable works."

TO CARPENTERS AND MECHANICS.

Just Published.

A NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION OF

THE CARPENTER'S NEW GUIDE,

BEING A COMPLETE BOOK OF LINES FOR

CARPENTRY AND JOINERY;

Treating fully on Practical Geometry, Saffit's Brick and Plaster Groins, Niches of every description, Sky-lights, Lines for Roofs and Domes: with a great variety of Designs for Roofs, Trussed Girders, Floors, Domes, Bridges, &c., Angle Bars for Shop Fronts, &c., and Raking Mouldings.

ALSO,

Additional Plans for various Stair-Cases, with the Lines for producing the Face and Falling Moulds, never before published, and greatly superior to those given in a former edition of this work.

BY WILLIAM JOHNSON, ARCHITECT,

OF PHILADELPHIA.

The whole founded on true Geometrical Principles; the Theory and Practice well explained and fully exemplified, on eighty-three copper plates, including some Observations and Calculations on the Strength of Timber.

BY PETER NICHOLSON,

Author of "The Carpenter and Joiner's Assistant," "The Student's Instructor to the Five Orders," &c.

Thirteenth Edition. One volume, 4to., well bound.

A DICTIONARY OF SELECT AND POPULAR QUOTATIONS,

WHICH ARE IN DAILY USE.

TAKEN FROM THE LATIN, FRENCH, GREEK, SPANISH AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES.

Together with a copious Collection of Law Maxims and Law Terms, translated into English, with Illustrations, Historical and Idiomatic.

NEW AMERICAN EDITION, CORRECTED, WITH ADDITIONS.

One volume, 12mo.

This volume comprises a copious collection of legal and other terms which are in common use, with English translations and historical illustrations; and we should judge its author had surely been to a great "Feast of Languages," and stole all the scraps. A work of this character should have an extensive sale, as it entirely obviates a serious difficulty in which most readers are involved by the frequent occurrence of Latin, Greek, and French passages, which we suppose are introduced by authors for a mere show of learning—a difficulty very perplexing to readers in general. This "Dictionary of Quotations," concerning which too much cannot be said in its favour, effectually removes the difficulty, and gives the reader an advantage over the author; for we believe a majority are themselves ignorant of the meaning of the terms they employ. Very few truly learned authors will insult their readers by introducing Latin or French quotations in their writings, when "plain English" will do as well; but we will not enlarge on this point.

If the book is useful to those unacquainted with other languages, it is no less valuable to the classically educated as a book of reference, and answers all the purposes of a Lexicon—indeed, on many accounts, it is better. It saves the trouble of tumbling over the larger volumes, to which every one, and especially those engaged in the legal profession, are very often subjected. It should have a place in every library in the country.

~~~

RUSCHENBERGER'S NATURAL HISTORY,

COMPLETE, WITH NEW GLOSSARY.

The Elements of Natural History,

EMBRACING ZOOLOGY, BOTANY AND GEOLOGY:

FOR SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND FAMILIES.

BY W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH NEARLY ONE THOUSAND ILLUSTRATIONS, AND A COPIOUS GLOSSARY.

Vol. I. contains *Vertebrate Animals.* Vol. II. contains *Intervertebrate Animals, Botany, and Geology.*

~~~

A Beautiful and Valuable Presentation Book.

THE POET'S OFFERING.

EDITED BY MRS. HALE.

With a Portrait of the Editress, a Splendid Illuminated Title-Page, and Twelve Beautiful Engravings by Sartain. Bound in rich Turkey Morocco, and Extra Cloth, Gilt Edge.

To those who wish to make a present that will never lose its value, this will be found the most desirable Gift-Book ever published.

"We commend it to all who desire to present a friend with a volume not only very beautiful, but of solid intrinsic value."—*Washington Union.*

"A perfect treasury of the thoughts and fancies of the best English and American Poets. The paper and printing are beautiful, and the binding rich, elegant, and substantial; the most sensible and attractive of all the elegant gift-books we have seen."—*Evening Bulletin.*

"The publishers deserve the thanks of the public for so happy a thought, so well executed. The engravings are by the best artists, and the other portions of the work correspond in elegance."—*Public Ledger.*

"There is no book of selections so diversified and appropriate within our knowledge."—*Pennsylv'n.*

"It is one of the most valuable as well as elegant books ever published in this country."—*Godey's Lady's Book.*

"It is the most beautiful and the most useful offering ever bestowed on the public. No individual of literary taste will venture to be without it."—*The City Item.*

THE YOUNG DOMINICAN;
OR, THE MYSTERIES OF THE INQUISITION,

AND OTHER SECRET SOCIETIES OF SPAIN.

BY M. V. DE FEREAL.

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, BY M. MANUEL DE CUENDIAS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY SPLENDID ENGRAVINGS BY FRENCH ARTISTS.

One volume, octavo.

* * *

SAY'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

A TREATISE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY;
Or, The Production, Distribution and Consumption of Wealth.

BY JEAN BAPTISTE SAY.

FIFTH AMERICAN EDITION, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,
BY C. C. BIDDLE, Esq.

In one volume, octavo.

It would be beneficial to our country if all those who are aspiring to office, were required by their constituents to be familiar with the pages of Say.

The distinguished biographer of the author, in noticing this work, observes: "Happily for science, he commenced that study which forms the basis of his admirable Treatise on *Political Economy*; a work which not only improved under his hand with every successive edition, but has been translated into most of the European languages."

The Editor of the North American Review, speaking of Say, observes, that "he is the most popular, and perhaps the most able writer on Political Economy, since the time of Smith."

* * *

LAURENCE STERNE'S WORKS,
WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR:

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH SEVEN BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATIONS, ENGRAVED BY GILBERT AND GIHON, FROM DESIGNS BY DARLEY.

One volume, octavo; cloth, gilt.

To commend or to criticise Sterne's Works, in this age of the world, would be all "wasteful and extravagant excess." Uncle Toby—Corporal Trim—the Widow—Le Fevre—Poor Maria—the Captive—even the Dead Ass,—this is all we have to say of Sterne; and in the memory of these characters, histories, and sketches, a thousand follies and worse than follies are forgotten. The volume is a very handsome one.

* * *

THE MEXICAN WAR AND ITS HEROES;

BEING

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN WAR,

EMBRACING ALL THE OPERATIONS UNDER GENERALS TAYLOR AND SCOTT.

WITH A BIOGRAPHY OF THE OFFICERS.

ALSO,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO,

Under Gen. Kearny, Cols. Doniphan and Fremont. Together with Numerous Anecdotes of the War, and Personal Adventures of the Officers. Illustrated with Accurate Portraits, and other Beautiful Engravings.

In one volume, 12mo.

NEW AND COMPLETE COOK-BOOK.

THE PRACTICAL COOK-BOOK,

CONTAINING UPWARDS OF

ONE THOUSAND RECEIPTS,

Consisting of Directions for Selecting, Preparing, and Cooking all kinds of Meats, Fish, Poultry, and Game; Soups, Broths, Vegetables, and Salads. Also, for making all kinds of Plain and Fancy Breads, Pastes, Puddings, Cakes, Creams, Ices, Jellies, Preserves, Marmalades, &c. &c. &c. Together with various Miscellaneous Recipes, and numerous Preparations for Invalids.

BY MRS. BLISS.

In one volume, 12mo.

The City Merchant; or, The Mysterious Failure.

BY J. B. JONES,

AUTHOR OF "WILD WESTERN SCENES," "THE WESTERN MERCHANT," &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TEN ENGRAVINGS.

In one volume, 12mo.

EL PUCHERO; or, A Mixed Dish from Mexico.

EMBRACING GENERAL SCOTT'S CAMPAIGN, WITH SKETCHES OF MILITARY LIFE IN FIELD AND CAMP; OF THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, MANNERS AND WAYS OF THE PEOPLE, &c.

BY RICHARD M'SHERRY, M. D., U. S. N.,

LATE ACTING SURGEON OF REGIMENT OF MARINES.

In one volume, 12mo.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

MONEY-BAGS AND TITLES:

A HIT AT THE FOLLIES OF THE AGE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF JULES SANDEAU.

BY LEONARD MYERS.

One volume, 12mo.

"'*Money-Bags and Titles*' is quite a remarkable work, amounts to a kindly exposure of the folly of human pride, and also presents at once the evil and the remedy. If good-natured ridicule of the impostures practised by a set of self-styled reformers, who have nothing to lose, and to whom change must be gain — if, in short, a delineation of the mistaken ideas which prevent, and the means which conduce to happiness, be traits deserving of commendation, — the reader will find much to enlist his attention and win his approbation in the pages of this unpretending, but truly meritorious publication."

WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?

A VINDICATION OF THE IDEA OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS,

BY PHILIP SCHAF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

In one volume, 12mo.

DODD'S LECTURES.

DISCOURSES TO YOUNG MEN.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS HIGHLY INTERESTING ANECDOTES.

BY WILLIAM DODD, LL. D.,

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE THIRD.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, WITH ENGRAVINGS.

One volume, 18mo.

* * *

THE IRIS:

AN ORIGINAL SOUVENIR.

With Contributions from the First Writers in the Country.

EDITED BY PROF. JOHN S. HART.

With Splendid Illuminations and Steel Engravings. Bound in Turkey Morocco and rich Papier Mache Binding.

IN ONE VOLUME, OCTAVO.

Its contents are entirely original. Among the contributors are names well known in the republic of letters; such as Mr. Boker, Mr. Stoddard, Prof. Moffat, Edith May, Mrs. Sigourney, Caroline May, Mrs. Kinney, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Pease, Mrs. Swift, Mr. Van Bibber, Rev. Charles T. Brooks, Mrs. Dorr, Erastus W. Ellsworth, Miss E. W. Barnes, Mrs. Williams, Mary Young, Dr. Gardette, Alice Carey, Phebe Carey, Augusta Browne, Hamilton Browne, Caroline Eustis, Margaret Junkin, Maria J. B. Browne, Miss Starr, Mrs. Brotherson, Kate Campbell, &c.

* * *

Gems from the Sacred Mine;

OR, HOLY THOUGHTS UPON SACRED SUBJECTS.

BY CLERGYMEN OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

EDITED BY THOMAS WYATT, A. M.

In one volume, 12mo.

WITH SEVEN BEAUTIFUL STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

The contents of this work are chiefly by clergymen of the Episcopal Church. Among the contributors will be found the names of the Right Rev. Bishop Potter, Bishop Hopkins, Bishop Smith, Bishop Johns, and Bishop Doane; and the Rev. Drs. H. V. D. Johns, Coleman, and Butler; Rev. G. T. Bedell, M'Cabe, Ogilsby, &c. The illustrations are rich and exquisitely wrought engravings upon the following subjects:—"Samuel before Eli," "Peter and John healing the Lame Man," "The Resurrection of Christ," "Joseph sold by his Brethren," "The Tables of the Law," "Christ's Agony in the Garden," and "The Flight into Egypt." These subjects, with many others in prose and verse, are ably treated throughout the work.

* * *

HAW-HO-NOO:

OR, THE RECORDS OF A TOURIST.

BY CHARLES LANMAN,

Author of "A Summer in the Wilderness," &c. In one volume, 12mo.

"In the present book, '*Haw-ho-noo*,' (an Indian name, by the way, for America,) the author has gathered up some of the relics of his former tours, and added to them other interesting matter. It contains a number of carefully written and instructive articles upon the various kinds of fish in our country, whose capture affords sport for anglers; reminiscences of unique incidents, manners, and customs in different parts of the country; and other articles, narrative, descriptive, and sentimental. In a supplement are gathered many curious Indian legends. They are related with great simplicity and clearness, and will be of service hereafter to the poem-makers of America. Many of them are quite beautiful."—*National Intelligencer.*

LONZ POWERS; Or, The Regulators.

A ROMANCE OF KENTUCKY.

FOUNDED ON FACTS.

BY JAMES WEIR, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

The scenes, characters, and incidents in these volumes have been copied from nature, and from real life. They are represented as taking place at that period in the history of Kentucky, when the Indian, driven, after many a hard-fought field, from his favourite hunting-ground, was succeeded by a rude and unlettered population, interspersed with organized bands of desperadoes, scarcely less savage than the red men they had displaced. The author possesses a vigorous and graphic pen, and has produced a very interesting romance, which gives us a striking portrait of the times he describes.

THE WESTERN MERCHANT.

A NARRATIVE,

Containing useful Instruction for the Western Man of Business, who makes his Purchases in the East. Also, Information for the Eastern Man, whose Customers are in the West. Likewise, Hints for those who design emigrating to the West. Deduced from actual experience.

BY LUKE SHORTFIELD, A WESTERN MERCHANT.

One volume, 12mo.

This is a new work, and will be found very interesting to the Country Merchant, &c. &c.

A sprightly, pleasant book, with a vast amount of information in a very agreeable shape. Business, Love, and Religion are all discussed, and many proper sentiments expressed in regard to each. The "moral" of the work is summed up in the following concluding sentences: "Adhere steadfastly to your business; adhere steadfastly to your first love; adhere steadfastly to the church."

A MANUAL OF POLITENESS,

COMPRISING THE

PRINCIPLES OF ETIQUETTE AND RULES OF BEHAVIOUR

IN GENTEEL SOCIETY, FOR PERSONS OF BOTH SEXES.

18mo., with Plates.

Book of Politeness.

THE GENTLEMAN AND LADY'S

BOOK OF POLITENESS AND PROPRIETY OF DEPORTMENT.

DEDICATED TO THE YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES.

BY MADAME CELNART.

Translated from the Sixth Paris Edition, Enlarged and Improved.

Fifth American Edition.

One volume, 18mo.

THE ANTEDILUVIANS; Or, The World Destroyed.

A NARRATIVE POEM, IN TEN BOOKS.

BY JAMES M'HENRY, M.D.

One volume, 18mo.

Bennett's (Rev. John) Letters to a Young Lady,

ON A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS CALCULATED TO IMPROVE THE HEART, TO FORM THE MANNERS, AND ENLIGHTEN THE UNDERSTANDING.

"That our daughters may be as polished corners of the temple."

The publishers sincerely hope (for the happiness of mankind) that a copy of this valuable little work will be found the companion of every young lady, as much of the happiness of every family depends on the proper cultivation of the female mind.

THE DAUGHTER'S OWN BOOK:

OR, PRACTICAL HINTS FROM A FATHER TO HIS DAUGHTER.

One volume, 18mo.

This is one of the most practical and truly valuable treatises on the culture and discipline of the female mind, which has hitherto been published in this country; and the publishers are very confident, from the great demand for this invaluable little work, that ere long it will be found in the library of every young lady.

THE AMERICAN CHESTERFIELD:

Or, "Youth's Guide to the Way to Wealth, Honour, and Distinction," &c. 18mo.

CONTAINING ALSO A COMPLETE TREATISE ON THE ART OF CARVING.

"We most cordially recommend the American Chesterfield to general attention; but to young persons particularly, as one of the best works of the kind that has ever been published in this country. It cannot be too highly appreciated, nor its perusal be unproductive of satisfaction and usefulness."

SENECA'S MORALS.

BY WAY OF ABSTRACT TO WHICH IS ADDED, A DISCOURSE UNDER THE TITLE OF AN AFTER-THOUGHT.

BY SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE, KNT.

A new, fine edition; one volume, 18mo.

A copy of this valuable little work should be found in every family library.

NEW SONG-BOOK.

Grigg's Southern and Western Songster;

BEING A CHOICE COLLECTION OF THE MOST FASHIONABLE SONGS, MANY OF WHICH ARE ORIGINAL.

In one volume, 18mo.

Great care was taken, in the selection, to admit no song that contained, in the slightest degree, any indelicate or improper allusions; and with great propriety it may claim the title of "The Parlour Song-Book, or Songster." The immortal Shakspeare observes—

> "The man that hath not music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

ROBOTHAM'S POCKET FRENCH DICTIONARY,

CAREFULLY REVISED,

AND THE PRONUNCIATION OF ALL THE DIFFICULT WORDS ADDED.

THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF TRISTRAM SHANDY, GENTLEMAN.

COMPRISING THE HUMOROUS ADVENTURES OF

UNCLE TOBY AND CORPORAL TRIM.

BY L. STERNE.

Beautifully Illustrated by Darley. Stitched.

A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY.

BY L. STERNE.

Illustrated as above by Darley. Stitched.

The beauties of this author are so well known, and his errors in style and expression so few and far between, that one reads with renewed delight his delicate turns, &c.

THE LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

WITH A LIKENESS OF THE OLD HERO.

One volume, 18mo.

LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

In one volume, 12mo.

WITH ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY JAMES HAMILTON.

The work is compiled from his original journals and correspondence, and includes an account of his services in the American Revolution, and in the war between the Russians and Turks in the Black Sea. There is scarcely any Naval Hero, of any age, who combined in his character so much of the adventurous, skilful and daring, as Paul Jones. The incidents of his life are almost as startling and absorbing as those of romance. His achievements during the American Revolution — the fight between the Bon Homme Richard and Serapis, the most desperate naval action on record — and the alarm into which, with so small a force, he threw the coasts of England and Scotland — are matters comparatively well known to Americans; but the incidents of his subsequent career have been veiled in obscurity, which is dissipated by this biography. A book like this, narrating the actions of such a man, ought to meet with an extensive sale, and become as popular as Robinson Crusoe in fiction, or Weems's Life of Marion and Washington, and similar books, in fact. It contains 400 pages, has a handsome portrait and medallion likeness of Jones, and is illustrated with numerous original wood engravings of naval scenes and distinguished men with whom he was familiar.

THE GREEK EXILE;

Or, A Narrative of the Captivity and Escape of Christophorus Plato Castanis,

DURING THE MASSACRE ON THE ISLAND OF SCIO BY THE TURKS.

TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES IN GREECE AND AMERICA.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

Author of an Essay on the Ancient and Modern Greek Languages; Interpretation of the Attributes of the Principal Fabulous Deities; The Jewish Maiden of Scio's Citadel; and the Greek Boy in the Sunday-School.

One volume, 12mo.

THE YOUNG CHORISTER;

A Collection of New and Beautiful Tunes, adapted to the use of Sabbath-Schools, from some of the most distinguished composers; together with many of the author's compositions.

EDITED BY MINARD W. WILSON.

CAMP LIFE OF A VOLUNTEER.

A Campaign in Mexico; Or, A Glimpse at Life in Camp.

BY "ONE WHO HAS SEEN THE ELEPHANT."

* * *

Life of General Zachary Taylor,

COMPRISING A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH HIS PROFESSIONAL CAREER, AND AUTHENTIC INCIDENTS OF HIS EARLY YEARS.

BY J. REESE FRY AND R. T. CONRAD.

With an original and accurate Portrait, and eleven elegant Illustrations, by Darley.

In one handsome 12mo. volume.

"It is by far the fullest and most interesting biography of General Taylor that we have ever seen." —*Richmond (Whig) Chronicle.*

"On the whole, we are satisfied that this volume is the most correct and comprehensive one yet published." — *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.*

"The superiority of this edition over the ephemeral publications of the day consists in fuller and more authentic accounts of his family, his early life, and Indian wars. The narrative of his proceedings in Mexico is drawn partly from reliable private letters, but chiefly from his own official correspondence."

"It forms a cheap, substantial, and attractive volume, and one which should be read at the fireside of every family who desire a faithful and true life of the Old General."

* * *

GENERAL TAYLOR AND HIS STAFF:

Comprising Memoirs of Generals Taylor, Worth, Wool, and Butler; Cols. May, Cross, Clay, Hardin, Yell, Hays, and other distinguished Officers attached to General Taylor's Army. Interspersed with

NUMEROUS ANECDOTES OF THE MEXICAN WAR,

and Personal Adventures of the Officers. Compiled from Public Documents and Private Correspondence. With

ACCURATE PORTRAITS, AND OTHER BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATIONS.

In one volume, 12mo.

* * *

GENERAL SCOTT AND HIS STAFF:

Comprising Memoirs of Generals Scott, Twiggs, Smith, Quitman, Shields, Pillow, Lane, Cadwalader, Patterson, and Pierce; Cols. Childs, Riley, Harney, and Butler; and other distinguished officers attached to General Scott's Army.

TOGETHER WITH

Notices of General Kearny, Col. Doniphan, Col. Fremont, and other officers distinguished in the Conquest of California and New Mexico; and Personal Adventures of the Officers. Compiled from Public Documents and Private Correspondence. With

ACCURATE PORTRAITS, AND OTHER BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATIONS.

In one volume, 12mo.

* * *

THE FAMILY DENTIST,

INCLUDING THE SURGICAL, MEDICAL AND MECHANICAL TREATMENT OF THE TEETH.

Illustrated with thirty-one Engravings.

By CHARLES A. DU BOUCHET, M. D., Dental Surgeon.

In one volume, 18mo.

MECHANICS FOR THE MILLWRIGHT, ENGINEER AND MACHINIST, CIVIL ENGINEER, AND ARCHITECT:

CONTAINING

THE PRINCIPLES OF MECHANICS APPLIED TO MACHINERY

Of American models, Steam-Engines, Water-Works, Navigation, Bridge-building, &c. &c. By

FREDERICK OVERMAN,

Author of "The Manufacture of Iron," and other scientific treatises.

Illustrated by 150 Engravings. In one large 12mo. volume.

* * *

WILLIAMS'S TRAVELLER'S AND TOURIST'S GUIDE

Through the United States, Canada, &c.

This book will be found replete with information, not only to the traveller, but likewise to the man of business. In its preparation, an entirely new plan has been adopted, which, we are convinced, needs only a trial to be fully appreciated.

Among its many valuable features, are tables showing at a glance the *distance, fare*, and *time* occupied in travelling from the principal cities to the most important places in the Union; so that the question frequently asked, without obtaining a satisfactory reply, is here answered in full. Other tables show the distances from New York, &c., to domestic and foreign ports, by sea; and also, by way of comparison, from New York and Liverpool to the principal ports beyond and around Cape Horn, &c., as well as *via* the Isthmus of Panama. Accompanied by a large and accurate Map of the United States, including a separate Map of California, Oregon, New Mexico and Utah. Also, a Map of the Island of Cuba, and Plan of the City and Harbor of Havana; and a Map of Niagara River and Falls.

* * *

THE LEGISLATIVE GUIDE:

Containing directions for conducting business in the House of Representatives; the Senate of the United States; the Joint Rules of both Houses; a Synopsis of Jefferson's Manual, and copious Indices; together with a concise system of Rules of Order, based on the regulations of the U. S. Congress. Designed to economise time, secure uniformity and despatch in conducting business in all secular meetings, and also in all religious, political, and Legislative Assemblies.

BY JOSEPH BARTLETT BURLEIGH, LL. D.

In one volume, 12mo.

This is considered by our Judges and Congressmen as decidedly the best work of the kind extant. Every young man in the country should have a copy of this book.

* * *

THE INITIALS; A Story of Modern Life.

THREE VOLUMES OF THE LONDON EDITION COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME 12MO.

A new novel, equal to "Jane Eyre."

* * *

WILD WESTERN SCENES:

A NARRATIVE OF ADVENTURES IN THE WESTERN WILDERNESS,

Wherein the Exploits of Daniel Boone, the Great American Pioneer, are particularly described. Also, Minute Accounts of Bear, Deer, and Buffalo Hunts — Desperate Conflicts with the Savages — Fishing and Fowling Adventures — Encounters with Serpents, &c.

By LUKE SHORTFIELD, Author of "The Western Merchant."

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED. One volume, 12mo.

* * *

POEMS OF THE PLEASURES:

Consisting of the PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION, by Akenside; the PLEASURES OF MEMORY, by Samuel Rogers; the PLEASURES OF HOPE, by Campbell; and the PLEASURES OF FRIENDSHIP, by M'Henry. With a Memoir of each Author, prepared expressly for this work. 18mo.

CALIFORNIA AND OREGON;

Or, Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way.

BY THEODORE T. JOHNSON.

With a Map and Illustrations. Third Edition.

With AN APPENDIX, containing Full Instructions to Emigrants by the Overland Route to Oregon.
By Hon. SAMUEL R. THURSTON, Delegate to Congress from that Territory.

VALUABLE STANDARD MEDICAL BOOKS.

DISPENSATORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY DRS. WOOD AND BACHE.

New Edition, much enlarged and carefully revised. One volume, royal octavo.

A TREATISE ON THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

BY GEORGE B. WOOD, M. D.,

One of the Authors of the "Dispensatory of the U. S.," &c. New edition, improved. 2 vols. 8vo.

AN ILLUSTRATED SYSTEM OF HUMAN ANATOMY;
SPECIAL, MICROSCOPIC, AND PHYSIOLOGICAL.

BY SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M. D.

With 391 beautiful Illustrations. One volume, royal octavo.

MATERIA MEDICA AND THERAPEUTICS,

With ample Illustrations of Practice in all the Departments of Medical Science, and copious Notices of Toxicology.

BY THOMAS D. MITCHELL, A.M., M.D.,

Prof. of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Philadelphia College of Medicine, &c. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SURGERY.

By George M'Clellan, M. D. 1 vol. 8vo.

EBERLE'S PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

New Edition. Improved by GEORGE M'CLELLAN, M. D. Two volumes in 1 vol. 8vo.

EBERLE'S THERAPEUTICS.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN,

By JOHN EBERLE, M. D., &c. Fourth Edition. With Notes and very large Additions,
By Thomas D. Mitchell, A. M., M. D., &c. 1 vol. 8vo.

EBERLE'S NOTES FOR STUDENTS—NEW EDITION.

⁂ These works are used as text-books in most of the Medical Schools in the United States.

A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON POISONS:

Their Symptoms, Antidotes, and Treatment. By O. H. Costill, M. D. 18mo.

IDENTITIES OF LIGHT AND HEAT, OF CALORIC AND ELECTRICITY,

BY C. CAMPBELL COOPER.

UNITED STATES' PHARMACOPŒIA,

Edition of 1851. Published by authority of the National Medical Convention. 1 vol. 8vo.

3//

DR. BOARDMAN'S SERMON:

THE LORD REIGNETH.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD, THE SURE AND ONLY STAY OF THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT IN OUR NATIONAL TROUBLES.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE
TENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 14,
AND IN THE
WEST SPRUCE STREET CHURCH, SEPTEMBER 28, 1862.

BY
HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM S. & ALFRED MARTIEN.
1862.

PHILADELPHIA, September 30, 1862.

REV. HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

Dear Sir—Your Sermon on the *Reign of God*, as connected with our present troubles, deserves a much larger publicity than can result from twice preaching. It ought to be read and considered, as well by those who love God and their country, as by those who are too apt to forget him. It would seem to be a vain hope to escape from our entanglements, and to exhibit "the uprising of a great nation," until we sincerely and humbly adopt the motto, "In God is our trust."

We therefore request that the manuscript may be placed at our disposal for publication.

JAMES POLLOCK,
JOSEPH PATTERSON,
GEORGE H. STUART,
S. A. MERCER,
ARCHIBALD McINTYRE,
ARTHUR G. COFFIN,
SAMUEL ASBURY,
HENRY D. SHERRERD,
JAMES WARRIN,
W. DWIGHT BELL.

PHILADELPHIA, October 2, 1862.

Gentlemen—It would be superfluous to speak to you of the tone of despondency which has for the last six months pervaded the public mind respecting the war. The sermon which you desire to publish had its origin in the prevalence of this feeling—then, I may add, at its height. Our army had just been expelled from Central Virginia; the national forces in the South-west were resigning their dearly-bought conquests; and the Northern States were threatened with invasion. On every side we encountered inquietude, distrust, and vague presentiments of fresh calamity. Every one felt the need of some sure resting-place. I felt it myself; and wrote the sermon for my own relief, and the comfort of my people. I had no thought of its going further. Your kind note assures me that it has been helpful to you, and may be to others. I shall rejoice if it prove so. For notwithstanding the recent victories with which God has been pleased to crown our arms, the cloud is not lifted from the public mind. The future lowers very darkly upon us; and there is neither peace nor hope for us except in the reflection, "THE LORD REIGNETH."

I cheerfully place the manuscript in your hands.

Respectfully and faithfully yours,

HENRY A. BOARDMAN.

To the Hon. JAMES POLLOCK,
JOSEPH PATTERSON, Esq., and others.

SERMON.

Psalm xcvii. 1, 2.

THE LORD REIGNETH: LET THE EARTH REJOICE; LET THE MULTITUDE OF ISLES BE GLAD THEREOF. CLOUDS AND DARKNESS ARE ROUND ABOUT HIM: RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENT ARE THE HABITATION OF HIS THRONE.

WE have here one of the favourite themes of the sacred writers, the universal dominion of God. It is a subject they present to us in every form, whether of simple didactic statement, history, song, or prophecy. This need not surprise us. A devout spirit *must* dwell with habitual and grateful joy upon the reign of God. It belongs to the earliest aspirations of the new-born soul on earth; and it inspires the loftiest anthems of saints and angels in glory. If I add, that it is of all others the subject which must come home to *our* bosoms just now, you will every one respond to the sentiment. For there is nothing of which we need more to be reminded in our present circumstances, than that "THE LORD REIGNETH;" that even when "clouds and darkness are round about him," and his dispensations are veiled in mystery, "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne;" and that his reign is, therefore, a just cause of joy to all the earth.

One of the expressions used by the Psalmist on this latter point requires a word of explanation;—"Let the earth rejoice; let *the multitude of isles* be glad thereof." The words "isles" and "islands," which are of such frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, do not ordinarily denote a tract of land surrounded by water. That is sometimes the meaning, but the Hebrews used the term so translated, to denote sea-coasts in general—any shores washed by the sea; and so, maritime countries. In several passages, the special reference is to the coasts bordering on the Mediterranean; while in others, it is to be taken without this limitation, and as equivalent to "the Gentile nations." Of this we have an early example in Gen. x. 5: "By these were the *isles of the Gentiles* divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." And in the same way we are to understand the text: "Let the multitude of isles—let the Gentiles of all lands—be glad thereof; let all kindreds and nations rejoice that the Lord reigneth."

"THE LORD REIGNETH." We have this truth

often repeated. "The Lord is King for ever and ever." "For the Lord most high is terrible; he is a great King over all the earth." "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?" "Our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased." "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted above all." Testimonies like these—and the Bible is full of them—can import nothing less than that the Deity exercises an absolute control over all creatures and all events. He governs the worlds, material and immaterial. He governs brutes, and he governs men. He governs individuals, and he governs nations. He governs angels, and he governs devils. His supremacy extends to every mote that floats in the sunbeam, to every tiny globule that sparkles in the foam of the sea, to every transient emotion that flits across the breast of man or angel. Nothing exists but by his ordination. Nothing happens but as he bids or permits it to happen. The same hand which upholds the universe and keeps the stars in their courses, guides the falling sparrow.

It must be so. An infinite and perfect God must exercise an absolute and universal dominion. He must be present in every part of the universe. He must know everything that occurs. He must direct and control all things. Otherwise his own plans would be liable to interruption, and his happiness would be marred. That he has a plan, is a necessary sequence from his perfection. His wisdom will select the means for carrying it into effect; and his goodness and righteousness make it certain that these means, and the plan itself, will be adapted to promote alike his own glory and the welfare of his creatures.

His sovereignty, I have said, extends as well to nations as to individuals. The one includes the other. If he governs individuals he must govern nations, and *vice versa.* What is the Old Testament history but an illustration of this idea? Going back to the flood, the earth is divided among the sons of Noah. The nations springing from their loins are assigned each its proper territory. After four centuries, Abraham is called, and then, for two thousand years, a single nation fills the field of vision: all other nations are treated as if of no moment, except in their relations to the chosen people. Now they are made the tributaries of the Hebrews; and anon they are used to scourge them. To-day they fight them; to-morrow they hew their wood and draw their water. But when their work is done relatively to the Jew, they disappear from the scene, and are heard of no more.

Even the great empires of the globe pay the same homage, involuntary though it be, to the Divine supremacy. It is a reflection of pregnant import, that the same irresistible will which ruled over Edom and Moab, controlled Babylon, and Media, and Greece, and Rome. As if to shut the mouths of those who might be disposed to exclude his providence from the wonderful events which marked the history of the four great monarchies, their annals are written in advance by the pen of prophecy. God tells the world what he was *going* to do with these mighty empires; that when the predictions were fulfilled, they might own his hand in the consummation, and confess that "THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH."

The argument from this source is irrefragable. The Book of Daniel, read in connection with authentic uninspired history, supplies a complete moral demonstration of God's control over nations and of his agency in all, even their minutest affairs. For it must be apparent, that if his prescribed plan had happened to omit the career of a single individual belonging, if you will, to the Medo-Persian empire, or the most trivial measure in its public policy, that oversight might have changed the whole current of its affairs, and so caused the prophecy to miscarry. When it is considered what the rise, progress, and overthrow of a nation involves—what an endless variety and complexity of interests, plans, and passions; what diversified pursuits, institutions, and organizations, social, commercial, literary, political, and religious; amplified by its relations with other nations, and, still more, by having each individual of the millions who compose its successive generations left to his own free will,—when we take this view of a nation, we cannot but stand amazed at the prescience which can forecast its destiny, and the infinite intelligence and power which can shape its fortunes precisely to the appointed end. This is what we know the Deity has done in respect to the nations embraced in the fulfilled prophecies; and we are equally sure that he does it in respect to every nation. The supervision he exercises over its affairs is not remote and general; but practical and constant. It pervades the entire structure. It touches its every interest. It guides its every movement. He holds it as in the hollow of his hand; and without him it cannot lift a finger; it cannot even breathe.

This—nothing less than this—is meant by the Scripture doctrine that "THE LORD REIGNETH." And if this be its meaning, we are prepared to hear that "clouds and darkness are round about him;" in other words, that many of his dispensations are veiled in mystery. No one who accepts the doctrine with an intelligent faith, could expect anything else. For consider,

The infinitude of God. "Canst thou by searching find out God?" The loftiest angel could not do this. The loftiest angel is but a child in knowledge here. What can we do, then, in comprehending the ways of the infinite One?

Consider, again, *the extent and grandeur of his domain.* We are no more to sever our globe from the rest of the universe, than we are to isolate one province or nation of the globe from the residue. His government is one. It comprises the various kingdoms of the earth, and it comprises, no less, the remainder of our planetary system, and all the stars and systems which adorn the skies, and every sphere that revolves in those distant fields of space which no telescope has ever brought within the reach of mortal vision. It is one realm, under "one blessed and only Potentate." He created it for a common end. He governs it according to a single plan which comprehends all its mighty interests, and makes its every grand and every trivial agency subservient to his ultimate design.

To say this is to affirm that he must at times be robed "in clouds and darkness." It were arrogating a divine prerogative to suppose ourselves capable of grasping all the movements of a government like this. The event which confounds your wisdom and tries your faith, has relations you do not understand. You do not see all its bearings even upon our own national welfare. How can you trace its effects upon the other portions of the human family—upon Europe—upon China—upon Africa? And if you could unravel this net-work, what could you know of its possible results in some of these distant orbs which pay allegiance to the same august Sovereign, and constitute a part of the same empire, with ourselves?

This argument is enforced by the reflection, that the present is confessedly *a preliminary dispensation.* "Lo, these are *parts* of his ways." Everything we see, is in order to something we do not see. The present is for the future. Inscrutable providences are like Scripture prophecies—their interpretation is to come. We are under a Teacher too wise to give us the problem and the key together. When his plan is completed, we shall see and confess its wondrous symmetry and beauty.

That we should encounter these mysteries is further to be contemplated as *a necessary part of our moral training.* We are sufficiently prone to indulge pride, and self-will, and impatience, and selfishness.

It would not abate these evil tendencies if everything in God's providence were made plain to us. We need dark and inexplicable events, to remind us that we are are in the presence of a Power greater than ourselves: to mortify our self-consequence: to foster in our breasts patience and submission: and to nourish a filial trust in God's wisdom and righteousness, even when "his way is in the sea, and his path in the great waters."

I have treated the text chiefly in its bearing upon nations;—*God's dominion over nations:* for it is this question which most deeply concerns us at this juncture. It has been shown that his government extends to nations; and that in his dispensations towards them we must expect inscrutable providences. A cursory review of any period of the world's history would supply illustrations of these topics. He has not governed the nations as we would have governed them. There are events in the history even of the chosen people which amaze us—which would certainly have amazed us had we been living when they occurred. Of these none is more remarkable than the *early disruption of the nation.* After the unexampled care and culture he had bestowed upon them—the wonders which marked their exodus from Egypt, their miraculous support in the desert, their victories over the heathen, and their successful occupation of Canaan; after the temple was built, and their complex and imposing system of worship established, and the new epoch in their sublime career inaugurated by the brilliant reigns of David and Solomon—the natural presumption must have been that the nation would at least be preserved in its integrity for centuries. Instead of this, Solomon is scarcely laid in his tomb, before a rebellion takes place in which ten tribes combine to throw off the theocratic yoke, and thenceforward the kingdom is divided. Even to this day the breach has never been healed; and History, vigilant as it is, has failed to preserve any record of ten-twelfths of the ancient seed of Abraham. Is it possible to recall this passage without feeling that "clouds and darkness are round about him"?

So, at a later period, with the seventy years captivity. No one will impugn the righteousness of this visitation, for their cup of iniquity was full. Still, when we remember his previous dealings with them, his promises, and especially the promise of a Messiah, and the overflowing wickedness of the nations at war with them, it cannot but appear mysterious that he should suffer their land to be laid desolate, the temple itself destroyed, and the people dragged off into a distant and cruel bondage. Had we lived then, our feeling would have been, "Clouds and darkness are round about him."

With this feeling, indeed, we must read no inconsiderable part of modern as well as ancient history. The course of events has not been in the line which our wisdom and our sense of right would have prescribed. God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts; or the earth would present a very different spectacle from that which meets our eyes to-day. While we feel thus in reference to various other countries, our own troubles clothe the sentiment with a peculiar solemnity. This cruel war confounds us. Its first gun sent a shudder through the land. We could scarcely trust our senses that a civil war was upon us. Compelled to admit this, our next thought was that it must be very short; that with our vast resources we could bring it to a speedy end. But it lasts far beyond our calculations. We are baffled, and often defeated, by a power every way inferior to us. Twenty millions of men are held at bay for eighteen months by six millions. We talk of victories; and our own capitals tremble at the tramp of invading armies. Wise men stand amazed at the current of events. Every one asks of his neighbour, What does it mean? Devout Christians are saying, "We had not thought he would deal thus with us."

It is something to know—it is a great deal to know—that HIS hand is in it all. "THE LORD REIGNETH." This is really our only sure source of consolation. We have looked to earth, and it has failed us. We have turned to our rulers; we have thought with complacency of our skilful captains, of our well-appointed armies, and our invincible fleets. We have felt that with such defences the government *must* be safe, and this rebellion be promptly suppressed. These confidences have been shattered. Fearful and anxious, we cast around for some other and better support. And here we find it: "THE LORD REIGNETH."

"If he does "reign"—reign with that absolute and ubiquitous supremacy which has been ascribed to him—then this war has not come without him. He is in all our triumphs, and not less in all our reverses. The very causes which have brought us into our present condition; the alleged official incompetency and mismanagement, the ignorance, the jealousies, the grievous mistakes, the possible disloyalty—all are within his domain. His "reign" comprehends them all; for "none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?" Had it seemed good to him, this unnatural war would have been brought to an end within two or three months. That it is still prolonged, shows that while the parties to it are aiming at their ends, God has his purposes to accomplish also. And we may be sure that until they are accomplished, the work of sorrow and death will go on.

If there be anything sad in this reflection, there is more of comfort. It is in fact, as already hinted, the only real comfort that is left us; the conviction that we are in his hands, and that he will order all things as he deems best. There is no agency, great or small, concerned in this war, which he does not control. He is in the council-chambers of our rulers. He is with our hosts in the field. He is with the armies that are assailing our cherished Union, and threatening to devastate our towns and cities. All are in as entire subjection to him, as are the forces which carry forward the tranquil operations of the natural world. Except with his consent or by his permission, no plan can prosper, and no blow take effect, whether for or against us.

It were, indeed, a mockery of God to expect him to work a miracle for our help; we can only count upon his aid when we are doing all we can ourselves. But the efficiency is his; and the results are his. He can save by many or by few. Under his shield three hundred Hebrews shall vanquish the tens of thousands of Midian. And this feat may be renewed on other fields; while without his favour, a colossal army may flee before an imaginary danger. He who says to the turbulent sea, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no further," can say the same to an invading foe; and the submission shall be as prompt in the one case as in the other. If I iterate this thought, it is because there is no truth of so much moment to us at this crisis.

The review we have taken, shows that God is dealing with us as he has dealt with other nations; that we ought to expect events which would seem dark and inexplicable; and that such events bring their lessons with them—lessons which it cannot be safe to neglect.

The most serious aspect of these late reverses is that which links them with God's sovereignty. Unless we have failed entirely in our exposition of the text, these trials betoken another controversy to which we are a party, in comparison with which the conflict that engrosses us is of secondary importance; or rather, which imparts to this conflict all its significance. I refer of course to God's controversy with us. If he were reconciled to us, this war would not last long. "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." The sentiment must be as applicable to nations as to individuals. What could any earthly power do against a people who had God on their side? What did they effect against Israel? "When they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people, he suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, he reproved kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." Psalm cv. 13—15. It must be because there is sin lying at our door; because we have not humbled ourselves aright under his rebukes; and we are not brought back in love and loyalty to Him, that his hand is still stretched out against us. Absolute as is his supremacy, and inscrutable as he must be to our reason in many of his dispensations, it is nevertheless an established principle of his administration, that he will bless any nation which faithfully honours him, and return to the nation which penitently returns to him. "The Lord is with you while ye are with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you: but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you." If pagan Nineveh found this true, no Christian people need scruple to avail themselves of it. The ten tribes would doubtless have experienced his clemency, had they sought it. But among all their kings, there was not a single good one. There was no repentance, and therefore no restoration.

But some one may ask, Why attribute these reverses to the Divine displeasure, when they are clearly traceable to human agency? Why not charge them to the imbecility, and the ambition, the personal feuds and political intrigues which have brought them upon us? I answer: 1. It is not the province of the pulpit to discuss such topics in these relations. 2. There is no intention to exonerate any one who may have had a criminal agency in causing these calamities. Let the tribunals arraign and punish them. 3. But if you could point out with unerring certainty all who have been concerned in precipitating these disastrous events upon the country, it would no more exclude a Providence than you can exclude a Providence from the lightning and the earthquake. God works by agents of all kinds; as well by men's vices as by their virtues; as well by their ignorance and their ambition, as by their patriotism and their science. And we cannot suppose that he would have permitted such instruments to produce such effects, unless it were a part of his plan to use them in reproving the sins of this nation.

If this be a proper view of the subject, our duty is plain. We must "*search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord.*" The loss of his favour will explain everything that has happened. And the grand aim should be to learn how we have lost his favour, and by what means we can regain it. This is too large a theme to be discussed within the compass of a few pages. But there is one feature of our government too closely connected with this question, and too conspicuous, to be passed by in silence. I refer, as you will readily suppose—for the topic is a familiar one—to the absence of any adequate recognition of the sovereignty of God, and the religion of which he is the author and object, in our Constitution, and in the practical administration of our political system. It may be conceded that the spirit of Christianity is to a certain extent incorporated with our institutions. The legal recognition of the Sabbath, the oath on the Holy Evangelists, and the appointment of Chaplains, are, so far, an acknowledgment of the Christian religion. But our national charter pays no homage to the Deity. His name does not once occur in the Constitution of the United States. And, as if to confound the charity which would refer this omission to some accidental agency, the same atheism is repeated and perpetuated in another form no less excusable. The coinage of money is one of the inalienable prerogatives of political sovereignty. The solemnity attached to the function has been recognised by most nations, ancient and modern, Jewish and Christian, Mohammedan and Pagan. For a sort of universal instinct has consecrated the coinage of the world to religion.

You have but to look at the money of any people, to know at what altars they worshipped. But *the coinage of the United States is without a God.* The startling remark has been made by an able numismatist amongst us, that if our nation should perish, and nothing be left of its history but our coins, the future antiquarian could never learn from them whether we were a Christian or a heathen people. The presumption, from the emblems impressed upon our money, (which are heathen, if they have any theological character,) would be in favour of our paganism. This is not a trivial matter. For while the *Dei gratia* of a currency may consort with regal and popular infidelity, the entire absence of all such emblems and legends from the coins of a nominally Christian nation, must be taken to indicate as much a want of reverence for the Deity, as a want of respect for the common religious sentiment of mankind. Is it too much to hope that this opprobrium may be wiped away? If we have never been taught the lesson before, we are admonished of it now, that "THE LORD REIGNETH." Has not the time come to make our formal national confession of this fundamental truth—to impress it upon our coinage?—to insert it (peradventure it may not be too late) as the Key-stone of our riven and tottering Constitution? If the country is not ready for these two simple but significant steps in the direction of Christianity, we have been chastened to very little purpose.

But let it not be imagined that there is nothing else to be reformed. It must be recorded to our shame, that the Christians of our country have been criminally remiss in respect to their social and political obligations: and to this neglect it is largely owing that God's authority has been so much contemned amongst us. "There has been no time (observes an admirable writer) since our origin as a nation, when the united voices and efforts of the Christians of this country could not have accomplished any object they desired, provided the measure was conceived in the true spirit of Christian wisdom and toleration. There has been no time when it was not the duty of the Christians of this country to consider, under the full light of that Christianity which beamed upon them undimmed from the word of God, what policy and what measures were best fitted to improve and preserve our political institutions, and what course of government or legislation would most improve the moral, religious, and social well-being of the whole people."* These just observations have lost none of their force by reason of the lapse of ten years since they were penned. They had no reference to a "Christian party in politics;"

---

* "Politics for American Christians." Stephen Colwell.

much less to that phantom of "Church and State" which has inspired the declamation of so many place-hunters. They were levelled at an evil of gigantic proportions, viz. the unfaithfulness of the Christians of our country to their political duties. Professing to regard Christianity as the paramount concern of man, and to recognise the Divine protection as the only security for nations, they have, to a great extent, abjured politics and left the management of our affairs to whoever might succeed in seizing the reins. As a general thing, they have shunned nomination to office, and taken no pains to insure the election of suitable men. They have not brought their influence to bear, in any suitable degree, upon the course of legislation, so as to guard the interests of morality, and foster the healthy, conservative element in our institutions. They have too often sacrificed either to personal ease or to party, what was due to their country; and by their silence connived at that frightful corruption which has of late years spread like a leprosy through the whole domain of our politics. What wonder that the nation should come to deny that "THE LORD REIGNS," when his own people fail to acknowledge it? What marvel that His rights should be trampled in the dust, when those to whose watch He has confided them betray the sacred trust?

If this is strong language, the occasion will justify it. This desolating war compels every thoughtful man to inquire into the causes which have produced it. And one of the earliest conclusions forced upon us, is, that our government is racked and shattered, because the Christian men of the land, and those who are in sympathy with them, have put forth no proper exertions to take care of it: because they have been too much engrossed with other pursuits, to keep the nation, as by a united and persistent effort they might have kept it, from that fatal deterioration which follows the general denial or disparagement of God's sovereignty, as certainly as darkness follows the withdrawal of the sun. It is not meant by this that there is no real religion amongst us; nor that the churches of our country have entirely failed of their mission. Far from it; the gospel has achieved many of its noblest triumphs here. But whether from a mistaken view of its legitimate sphere, or from other causes, the Christianity of the land has stood so much aloof from our politics, that although, in a sort, a nation of Christians, we are, in a very qualified sense only, a Christian nation. However this war may terminate, we have a dismal future before us, unless the *religion* of the country means hereafter to make itself felt in our public affairs as it has not been during the last half century. So little, in fact, has the nation been imbued with a proper religious sentiment—with the feeling, "THE LORD REIGNETH"—that our most characteristic sin is found in the general prevalence of a spirit which is the very opposite of this, the spirit of self-sufficiency and rude boasting. No one will ask for argument on this point. We have gloried in ourselves—in our liberty, our intelligence, our enterprise, our prowess, our constitution, our Union—until all Europe has jeered at our vanity and anathematized our arrogance. No people except the Hebrews ever had so much to keep them mindful of the presence and the goodness of God: "for what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God has been in all things that we have called upon him for?" But the munificence of his bounty has only made us more supercilious; and while accepting and using his blessings, we have offered incense to our own superior virtue as the procuring cause of them. If there be any so blind that they have not seen this sin before, they may read it now in its punishment. God has smitten us in our most vulnerable part. Our idols are in the dust. Our glorying is turned to shame. We are beginning to learn that "THE LORD REIGNS;" and that he is "a jealous God, who will not give his glory to another."

If we are learning this, we have struck the only trail which can lead us out of this labyrinth of woes, and conduct us to an honourable peace. There must be no abatement in the measures adopted for the public defence, but rather increased energy and augmented preparations. But we must *return to God.* This is the vital thing. We must restore to him the sceptre we have profanely attempted to wrest from his hand. We must acknowledge his sovereignty, and lay our honours at his feet. We must submit in humility to his rebukes, and penitently plead with him to withdraw his rod. At whatever cost, through whatever depths of self-abasement, we must regain his favour. And we shall do it, if we seek him as we ought. "He hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight." This is the acknowledged design of the afflictions with which he visits his people as individuals, to humble and purify them, and bring them nearer to himself. And we are warranted in putting a similar interpretation upon the calamities with which he scourges Christian nations. Whenever these afflictions have produced their proper effect upon us, we cannot doubt that our Heavenly Father will lay aside the rod with which, in such righteous severity, he is smiting us.

There are two or three obvious considerations which lend countenance to this belief. One is derived from our past history. We need not go into details. As was just now observed, the annals of the Hebrews excepted, there is no nation whose origin and progress have been marked by so many wonderful interpositions of God's hand. The colonizing of this continent, the Revolution, the organization of the government, and the unexampled growth and prosperity of the nation, have too often been dwelt upon in this relation, to make it necessary to recite particular events here. It is not reasonable to presume that He who has built up so costly and beneficent a fabric, will suffer it to be destroyed before it has completed its first century.

For it is not simply a political structure. Even in this view we cannot be at fault in supposing that it has exerted a most benign and powerful influence upon the cause of civil liberty throughout the earth. But God has a *Church* in this land. In another connection I have spoken of its omissions and failures. But imperfect and unfaithful as it has been, it comprises some millions of individuals, who either profess the name of Christ, or constantly celebrate his worship. This Church has not wholly neglected its work. It has done much to provide the ordinances of religion for our own expanding population. It has given the gospel to many pagan lands. It has enjoyed numerous unequivocal tokens of the Divine favour. Can we believe that He who died to ransom his Church, and who is "Head over all things to the Church," will abandon *this* Church? Or can we doubt that he will show himself "favourable to our land" for the Church's sake?

I merely suggest these thoughts. They may prove nothing. But they forbid us to despair of our country. They reprove our unbelief, and bid us "trust in the Lord God of our fathers," even though we cannot pierce the clouds and darkness which are round about him. These clouds will pass away. Our beloved country will yet come forth from this baptism of blood, purified as gold that is tried in the fire; and our Father's face will again smile upon us, a wiser, meeker, and better people.

But whether these grateful anticipations are to be realized or not, let us "*rejoice*" that "THE LORD REIGNETH." Amidst the tumult and alarm, the sorrow and suffering, which surround us, this one thought comes to the heart, like the dove with its olive-branch across the surging waters. He who controlled those angry waves and guarded the ark, is still on the throne.

> " He sat serene upon the floods,
> Their fury to restrain;
> And He, as Sovereign, Lord, and King,
> For evermore shall reign."

Here the Christian will find rest: his Father reigns. We may trust our country in his hands. He loves all that is good in it far more than we do. He is more the Friend of human freedom and happiness than we are. He knows just what this nation requires in order to prepare it for its future mission. And he will suffer nothing to happen to it which is not adapted to work out his own purposes, and contribute to the ultimate and universal triumph of his CHURCH, the grand and absorbing interest of earth—for which alone the earth is preserved.

I know it is easier to inculcate this trust than to exercise it. Standing where we do, sense and faith are in conflict. We would commit our country to God's keeping. We would rejoice that he reigns. But it costs a struggle. The feeling is, " Lord, I believe: help thou mine unbelief." But this is our only resource. The issue is with him. His will must and will prevail. "The floods lift up their voice, the floods lift up their waves; but the Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea." And if we cannot consent to his sovereignty, and trust him with our country's destiny, there is nothing left to us but the gloom of unbelief, and a prolonged harvest of discontent, and terror, and bitter tears. But we can trust him. We will trust him. We *know* that he will not forsake us. With all the tribes of earth we will exult in his dominion. "THE LORD REIGNETH: LET THE EARTH REJOICE; LET THE MULTITUDE OF ISLES BE GLAD THEREOF. CLOUDS AND DARKNESS ARE ROUND ABOUT HIM: RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENT ARE THE HABITATION OF HIS THRONE."

THE JUDICIARY:

BY

HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D.D.

4

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

A THANKSGIVING DISCOURSE,

BY

HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM S. & ALFRED MARTIEN.
1862.

c

Philadelphia, December 8, 1862.

To the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D.

Dear Sir—We think that the publication of your Thanksgiving Discourse, on the *Federal Judiciary*, would be acceptable to the members of the Legal Profession, as well as to many others unconnected with that Profession.

You are aware that on one or two of the questions embraced in the discussion, there has been a diversity of sentiment in the Profession; and some of the undersigned might not be ready to adopt every expression you have used on those topics. We are, nevertheless, desirous of seeing the Discourse in print, and trust that you will favour us with the manuscript for publication.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

HENRY C. CAREY,
WILLIAM B. HIESKELL,
HENRY S. HAGERT,
CHARLES E. LEX,
JOSEPH ABRAMS,
F. CARROLL BREWSTER,
SAMUEL HOOD,
ARTHUR M. BURTON,
WILLIAM F. JUDSON,
JOHN B. GEST,
THOMAS GREENBANK,
CLEMENT B. PENROSE,
JAMES OTTERSON, Jr.
SAMUEL DICKSON,
HENRY P. KING,
CHARLES GIBBONS,
W. H. DRAYTON,
HENRY A. CONVERSE,
VICTOR GUILLOU,
MORTON P. HENRY,
FREDERICK HEYER,
P. B. CARTER,
E. K. NICHOLS,
JAMES W. PAUL,
WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG,
(Williamsport, Pa.)
R. C. GRIER,
W. STRONG,
JAMES THOMPSON,
J. I. CLARK HARE,
A. V. PARSONS,
WILLIAM A. PORTER,
JOHN C. KNOX,
J. HILL MARTIN,
W. J. McELROY,
JOHN C. BULLITT,
GEORGE W. THORN,
A. S. LETCHWORTH,
AMOS BRIGGS,
B. GERHARD,
CHARLES SERGEANT,
CHARLES GILPIN.
GEORGE JUNKIN, Jr.
ROBERT H. McGRATH,
J. F. JOHNSTON,
MORTON McMICHAEL,
E. SPENCER MILLER,
THEODORE CUYLER,
STEPHEN COLWELL,
GEORGE H. BOKER,
R. C. McMURTRIE,
JAMES MILLIKEN.

PHILADELPHIA, December 11th, 1862.

GENTLEMEN—I need not say to *you* that the article of our Constitution which provides for the erection of a tribunal for the peaceful arbitration of differences among the various governments embraced in the Federal Union, is justly regarded as one of the highest achievements of political wisdom the world has ever seen. It was this conviction which led me, on the late Thanksgiving Day, to call attention to the Judiciary as a great national blessing, too little remembered by us. My discourse has been received, especially by the Bench and Bar, with a kindness I could not have anticipated. I feel myself honoured by your note, and cheerfully place the manuscript at your disposal.

I am, Gentlemen,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

HENRY A. BOARDMAN.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. GRIER,
Hon. W. STRONG,
HENRY C. CAREY, Esq., and others.

THE JUDICIARY.

2 Chronicles xix. 5—7.

AND HE SET JUDGES IN THE LAND THROUGHOUT ALL THE FENCED CITIES OF JUDAH, CITY BY CITY, AND SAID TO THE JUDGES, TAKE HEED WHAT YE DO, FOR YE JUDGE NOT FOR MAN, BUT FOR THE LORD, WHO IS WITH YOU IN THE JUDGMENT. WHEREFORE NOW LET THE FEAR OF THE LORD BE UPON YOU; TAKE HEED AND DO IT: FOR THERE IS NO INIQUITY WITH THE LORD OUR GOD, NOR RESPECT OF PERSONS, NOR TAKING OF GIFTS.

It has fallen to my lot, on the annual recurrence of this festival, to address you on a variety of topics connected with our public affairs. This has become so much the established and approved custom of the pulpit, that you would be disappointed, should I depart from it to-day. I am not unwilling to respond to this feeling. But instead of dwelling upon the present state of the country, I propose to offer you some observations on a subject of national importance, as new to this pulpit as it must be to most of the pulpits of the land. Among the very numerous discourses that have been preached and published concerning our history and institutions, one of the three fundamental departments of the Government appears to have been overlooked. The inquiry seems never to have been raised, whether amidst the affluence of blessings bound up in our political charters, there was any thing to call for special *thanksgiving* in the JUDICIAL SYSTEM of the United States, and the characters and services of the leading men by whom it has been administered. It is not difficult to account for this oversight.

The Executive and Legislative departments of the State are kept constantly before the public eye. Subjected to the ever-recurring test of the ballot-box, they supply the staple of those political contests which are waged with such vehemence in every country blessed with constitutional liberty. Not only are the offices accessible to all, but they appeal with power to the ambition, and, it must be added, the cupidity of the masses. The acts of these functionaries, too, invite praise or censure, because, as they are without concealment, so they bear directly upon the personal interests of all who compose the body politic. The Judiciary, on the other hand, has no prizes to offer to the multitude. It is confined to the ranks of a single Profession which, in our country, embraces only about a thousandth part of the population. It moves in a secluded sphere. While we can not say of it, "There is no speech nor language; their voice is not heard;"* we may say, that its voices do not attract the popular ear. Except on rare occasions, people do not affect the court-rooms. And where they do, the cases which allure them are oftener those that appeal to their curiosity or their passions, than those which involve principles that concern our dearest personal rights or our public liberties.

---

* The literal rendering of Psalm xix. 3.

Owing to these and other causes, the Judiciary is rarely thought of, even when we are reverently meditating upon the signal advantages which are bound up in our form of Government. It is another illustration of the familiar adage, "out of sight, out of mind." We are drinking every day of the crystal streams which flow from this hidden fountain, without one thought of the fountain itself; and even without caring to know whether it is really hidden, or hidden only to our indolence. It may not be what you would prefer to listen to to-day; but if there is one of our chief temporal mercies unacknowledged, you will not chide me for venturing to remind you of it.

I use the word "remind" in this last sentence advisedly. It would be great presumption in me to attempt, under any circumstances, an elaborate dissertation on the Jurisprudence of the United States. The present occasion calls for no such performance. All I propose is, to throw out a few suggestions, fortified by proper biographical references, which may lead to a juster appreciation of the Divine goodness to us in this department of our affairs.

If I confine myself mainly in these remarks to the Federal Judiciary, it will be partly from its paramount importance, and partly from the necessary brevity of a discourse like the present.

Among the problems submitted to that assembly of great men, the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, the question of the Judiciary was found peculiarly embarrassing. As there was no precedent for such a Union as they proposed, a confederation of States on principles which consolidated the people into a single compact nation, without sacrificing the independence of the several constituent sovereignties, so history failed to supply them with any model in framing a Judicial system suited to the exigencies of so unique a political structure. It was indispensable that the Judicial should be made co-extensive with the Legislative power. Its jurisdiction must comprehend the entire country, yet without interfering with the supremacy of the State courts in their respective spheres. More than this, it was necessary to provide an umpire to whose authority the States themselves should do homage. Collisions had occurred among them, and might occur again—as on questions of boundary, of jurisdiction, or of personal rights. They might enact laws in contravention of the federal compact. In the absence of a competent tribunal to adjudicate these controversies, both parties would fly to arms, and the Union would soon perish. The embarrassment lay in the fact, that the Judicial power must be so organized as to reach and control, not individuals and corporations merely, but large and flourishing States, proud of their traditions, jealous of their rights, and restive under restraint. It must go still further. The Government might be subverted as well by its own legitimate authorities as by the action of the States. It was as needful to protect the Constitution from domestic as from foreign invasion—from the usurpations of the legislative and executive departments at the centre, as from the encroachments of the provincial governments. There must be a tribunal clothed with power to annul the formal statutes of the States and of Congress, and, in certain cases, to pass upon the constitutional validity of the acts of the Chief Magistrate.

To say that other nations supplied no example of such a Judiciary, is to state but a part of the truth. No such tribunal was ever heard of. Every civilized country has its high Courts of Judicature. But however ample their powers, they have no mission to sit in judgment upon the acts of the Crown and the

Legislature. Each is supreme in its own department. Grave questions may arise as to the assumed prerogative of the throne; or as to powers assumed by the Legislature. But it is not for the Judges to say, this is constitutional, and that is not; here the subject must obey, and there he is absolved from obedience. Our Constitution herein is as much a novelty in the science of government, as is the court which expounds it. It is literally our fundamental law; as binding upon the President, upon Congress, and upon the States, as it is upon the youngest midshipman of the Navy. Its essential characteristics are these two. It is the formal expression of the will of the *whole people.* As such, the States, severally and jointly, accepted and ratified it; and so, from being distinct societies, they became a single consolidated nation, indivisible and inseparable, except at the bidding of the authority which created it, the voice of the entire population of the Union. These attributes make it our law of laws. They enthrone it within its sphere, which its own terms .define, over all other powers and over all persons. To explain and apply the principles of this (shall I style it) sublime instrument, is the province of our Supreme Court of Judicature; and no functions so august were ever before confided to a human tribunal.

How much we are all indebted to this arrangement, can be estimated only by one who is able to sum up the benefits which the Constitution of the United States has in the course of seventy years conferred upon our country and the world. For it admits of easy demonstration, that the preservation of the Constitution, and, by consequence, of the Union and all that the Union comprehends, is due, under God, to the Judiciary. The Constitution is the depository and charter of those rights and privileges which, prior to this rebellion, had conducted our country to an unexampled pitch of prosperity and happiness; and of the Constitution, the Judiciary has been the faithful guardian. Numerous are the instances in which its provisions have been violated, sometimes by acts of Congress, more frequently by the State Legislatures or the State courts. And if there had been no court of eminent jurisdiction to annul these acts and decrees, the Constitution must long ago have been scattered to the winds. It was with a deep significance that Washington, in enclosing to John Jay his commission as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, addressed him as "the head of the department which must be considered as the keystone of our political fabric." Subsequent events have vindicated this comparison. That the arch did not sooner give way, was, under Providence, because the keystone proved immovable. That the keystone should still preserve its poise, notwithstanding the frightful ruins strewn around its base, forbids us to despair of yet seeing the crumbling arch restored.

Some general idea may be formed from these observations, of the lofty position which the Judiciary holds in our political system. It will readily be seen that the duties devolving upon the magistrates who preside in this court, are no less delicate than momentous. Besides the difficulties and responsibilities inherent in the Judicial office under ordinary circumstances, they are exposed to others of no trivial character. They are set to expound the Constitution. Representing, in this capacity, the federal authority, they stand in a sort of antagonism to the State functionaries, and to all upon whose pride, or ambition, or supposed interest, the yoke of the Constitution may press with any degree of rigour. The allegiance of the citizen to his own State being immediate and direct, and that to the general government remote, a tribunal created to uphold the supremacy of the national authority wherever the States may presume to impugn it, must expect to be viewed with a jealous eye. The popular sympathy which so often cheers other jurists, rarely makes its way into the presence-chamber of our national Court. It is their ungracious office to decide causes where the parties-litigant are, perhaps, sovereign States; and the mandate they issue, instead of affecting a solitary individual or corporation, disappoints and vexes a million of people. To this great community they are, as it were, a foreign tribunal: and so much room do their relations to the defeated party leave, in cases of this sort, for the workings of wounded state-pride, partisan feeling, and all uncharitableness, that the general acquiescence of the nation in the decisions of the Supreme Court, deserves to be regarded as a signal token of God's providential care over our country.

This, however, is but one class of the cases which illustrate the point before us. It devolves upon this Court, as already intimated, to sit in judgment upon the acts of the co-ordinate branches of the Government, and to interpose itself, as occasion serves, between either or both and an excited people. It must defend the Legislature against the threatening designs of the Executive. It must protect the just prerogative of the Executive against the unconstitutional demands of the Legislature. It must guard the right of the States from federal aggression, and the authority of the federal government from the aggressions of the States. It must, if needful, invoke the whole power of the Union to enforce its decrees in the face of an inflamed populace who are disappointed of a coveted victim. And it must invoke that same power to shield even an unworthy citizen from an attempted outrage, whether on the part of a vindictive Legislature or a despotic Executive.

Functions like these could be entrusted only to a Judiciary established upon the firmest possible foundation. The provision of the Constitution relating to this point, is in the following words:—"The Judges both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." It is well known that the wisdom of these last days claims to have devised a better principle for the regulation of the Judiciary than the good behaviour tenure; I refer to the plan of an elective Judiciary for short terms. The great importance of this question must be my apology for offering a few observations on the general subject.

The plan of an elective Judiciary for short terms, has been advocated chiefly upon two grounds. First, as affording the only adequate means of getting rid of incompetent or corrupt Judges. The answer to this is, that a Judge of this sort may be removed by impeachment. In some of the States the same end may be reached by the less formal process of an address to the Governor by the Legislature. The other and main argument is, that it is anti-republican to confer an "office for life;" and that to insure the faithful administration of justice, the Judges must be made, like Legislative and Executive officers, directly responsible to the people. But the system here impugned does not create a "life-office." The tenure is, "during good behaviour." If a Judge does well, he keeps his place: if otherwise, he may be deposed. Nor is the analogy drawn from the other departments of any validity. The difference has been often pointed out. The whole power of the State is vested in the Legislative and Executive branches of the government. They make the laws. They create offices. They appoint all the officers. They dispense all the patronage. They declare war and make peace. They may embark in schemes which involve the outlay of millions of money, and the employment of whole armies of contractors, agents, and their subordinates; for all which the country must be taxed. In wielding these vast powers, they have a large discretion. They may do or not do, as they see fit. They may choose out of a variety of projects for accomplishing a certain end; or they may reject them all, and abandon the object itself. Whatever they do or leave undone, the people reap the consequences. It is on every ground proper, then, that the people should exercise a strict *surveillance* over these functionaries; that they should hold them to a rigid accountability, by requiring them to return their commissions to their hands at stated and brief intervals.

Now what semblance of identity is there between this case and that of the Judiciary? The Judges have no political power. They can create no corporations. They can make no contracts. They can lay no taxes. They can appoint no officers. They are simply the oracle of the law. The laws, which, it is important to note, they have no agency in making, (and none in repealing except as they may pronounce them unconstitutional,) speak through them to the people and to their rulers. The Judges are shut up to this service. They are without discretion.* There is not a vagrant on the street who may not go into court and compel them to speak. A Legislature may shirk an unwelcome duty. They may decline or postpone action, where action would embroil them with their constituents. But a Judge has no such latitude. It matters not who may invoke his interposition, nor whom he may disquiet; when the cause comes before him, his oath requires him to decide it. That these decisions should frequently give offence, is unavoidable. All the more reason is there for making the Judges independent. It is for the interest of the *people* that the magistrate who expounds the laws, should be in a position to fear neither their displeasure nor that of their political rulers. It is no disparagement to them to say, that they are not competent to review the proceedings of the courts; if they are, why not abolish the courts altogether? Experience has shown that opinions from the Bench which at first excited popular odium, are frequently accepted after a little season as just and wise. This shows the importance of a permanent Judiciary.

---

* See Mr. Sergeant's very able speech in the Pennsylvania Convention.

To say that "the offices of the Judges belong, not to the incumbents, but to the people," and to urge this as a reason why the people should have a frequent opportunity of appropriating them, is to trifle with a very grave subject. The offices do belong to the people. And it also belongs to the people to have them filled with wise and faithful men—not for the sake of these men, but for the public good. Of what moment is it to you or to me, who the individual may be that sits in the seat of judgment? But it is of the greatest moment to us all, that we should guard the independence of the jurist who sits there, by assuring him that so long as he does well, he shall not be molested. It is for our good, not his own, that we would have him feel that he shall not be deprived of his bread and turned adrift upon the world, for doing his duty. In taking this ground, we are pleading the cause of the government against faction; the cause of minorities against majorities; the cause of the helpless against the strong; the cause of the loyal and exemplary citizen against the violence of party; the cause of popular liberty against the usurpations of arbitrary power. The whole framework of society is suspended upon the independence of the Judiciary. "I have always thought," says Chief Justice Marshall, "from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and a sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a *dependent* Judiciary." These solemn words occur in a speech he delivered in 1829, (he was then in his 75th year,) to the Virginia Convention, his main object being to show that Judicial independence could be secured only by the good-behaviour tenure.

To maintain that an upright judge has nothing to fear from a periodical reference of his commission to the contingencies of a popular vote, may be a very amiable sentiment, but it does not quite suit the sphere we happen to dwell in. This is no Arcadia, but a very matter-of-fact sort of world, with large room for the play of envy, ambition, resentment, avarice, and their kindred passions; and with sad memorials, filling many thousands of volumes, of faithful public servants who have suffered injustice at the hands of their fellows. We cannot trust our Judges to this sort of guardianship. We do not care to expose them to such temptations. We fear the flatteries and the enmities of popular leaders. We distrust the arts of emulous rivals, and the candour of a partisan press. There is no country in the world where personal character is so mercilessly traduced at the polls, as here. No citizen who becomes a candidate for office is too good to be gibbeted as a felon in disguise. The most venerable of our living statesmen, now four-score years of age, as remarkable for the purity of his life as for his eminent abilities, observed in a speech before the United States Senate some years ago, that when his name was before the country in connection with the Presidency, he was accused by the newspapers of every crime in the decalogue except one. I suppose the excepted sin was idolatry. Why his detractors should scruple about this charge is quite intelligible. Even party credulity was not ready to have it said, that Mr. Cass was a worshipper of Jupiter or Juggernaut. Had there been an audience to entertain it, the libel should not have failed for lack of some one to father it.

It is the tax we pay for our liberties—this licentiousness of the tongue and the press. For this reason and no other, we tolerate it. But who wishes to see Judicial integrity cast into this seething cauldron? Can the Judges bear it? Do they require it? If it be needful to subject them to the ordeal by fire, why not go back to the approved system of the fathers, and compel them every few years to walk barefoot over nine red hot plough-shares? That had a certain dignity about it. It was genuine sorcery. The other is a poor imitation. It lacks the solemnity of the primitive institute,—unhappily it retains the fire. But the personal relation of the Judges to this question, is of secondary importance. Let it fare with them as it may, can the *people* bear it? Can they afford to live under a system the essential tendency of which is to make justice the sport of human passions and the foot-ball of parties? Is it for their security and happiness that the courts should be exposed to every gust that disturbs the political atmosphere; and that the Judges should be placed in a position where the thought of bread for themselves and their families, may tempt them to keep one eye on the code and the other on the ballot-box? Will it aid in conserving their franchises to have learned and upright Judges driven from the Bench—perhaps to go to the almshouse, or to the grave—at the very time when age and experience combine to make their services more valuable than ever?

It is no reply to these views to urge that many of the States, our own among them, have adopted the plan of an elective Judiciary for short terms: and that thus far it has proved satisfactory. For the time has not come to gather the fruit of this tree. The system is yet to be tested. We may concede that in our own State it has thus far wrought no irreparable mischief. We may go further: it has given us some Judges of very high character, who deservedly enjoy the confidence of the Bar and of the public. This is cause for thankfulness. But neither our experience nor that of other commonwealths, will aid the sponsors of this new doctrine.

The indications are (so it is credibly stated) that the election of Judges in the States which have repudiated the time-honoured custom of the older nations, will at no distant day sink to the level of those partisan contests, in which all concern for the fitness of candidates is merged in the one paltry idea of their "availableness." And when that day comes, Justice will fly from her desecrated temples, and Liberty will not be long in following her to some happier shore.*

---

*I have heard a very distinguished citizen of this State express his deep regret for the vote he gave in the Convention of 1837, I may be allowed to confirm these views by an authority which both the Bar and the Bench are accustomed to respect.

"What guarantee is there for the Constitution itself, if you emasculate the judicial department, the only one that is a smooth, practical, wakeful, and efficient defence against invasions of the Constitution by the Legislature—the only one that can be efficient in a republican representative government, whose people will not bear a blow, and therefore require a guarantee whose blow is a word? A leasehold elective tenure by the Judiciary is a frightful solecism in such a government. It enfeebles the guarantee of other guarantees—the trial by jury—the writ of habeas corpus—the freedom and purity of elections by the people—and the true liberty and responsibility of the press. It takes strength from the only arm that can do no mischief by its strength, and gives it to those who have no general intelligence to this end, in the use of it, and therefore no ability to use it for their own protection. The certainty

---

in favour of altering the Judicial tenure. He added, with emotion, "It is my conviction that this change has put Pennsylvania back one hundred years; and so thorough is the revolution of opinion on this subject, that if the question could now be submitted to a popular vote, our State would go back to the old tenure by an overwhelming majority." I am further assured, by leading members of the Profession, that "the Pennsylvania Bar is a unit on this question."

and permanence of the law depend in great degree upon the Judges; and all experience misleads us, and the very demonstrations of reason are fallacies, if the certainty and permanence of the judicial office by the tenure of good behaviour, are not inseparately connected with a righteous, as well as with a scientific, administration of the law. What can experience or foresight predict for the result of a system, by which a body of men, set apart to enforce the whole law at all times, whatever may be the opposition to it, and whose duty is never so important and essential as when it does so against the passions of a present majority of the polls, is made to depend for office upon the fluctuating temper of a majority, and not upon the virtue of their own conduct?"*

Thus much on the general question of the Judicial tenure. The argument grows cumulative when applied to the Federal Judiciary. It were quite pertinent to refer, on this point, to the stores of learning, professional and general, which are demanded by the exigencies of that Bench. A Court which, to say nothing of Admiralty cases, Treaties, and the Law of Nations, rises to the dignity of a great "international arbiter," by comprehending within its jurisdiction the acts of Congress and the Legislation and

---

*The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia. By Horace Binney. 1859.

Jurisprudence of thirty-four sovereign States and an indefinite number of Territories, must require for the wise administration of its powers, an extent and variety of intellectual resources far beyond any Judicial office known to the most polished nations of Europe. How are men to be fitted for such an office without a life of study? And what motive were there to engage in this herculean work of preparation, if they were liable to be removed at the end of a few years?

But let me simply recall the views already presented. Consider the vast responsibilities accumulated upon this Bench, the extreme delicacy of their relations to the General and State Governments and to all the inferior Courts, the powerful clients that appear at their Bar, the wide sweep of their jurisdiction, the momentous consequences which their decisions frequently draw after them in respect to our own commonwealths and our transactions with foreign Cabinets, and their peculiar liability to provoke the displeasure of suitors of all sorts, individuals, corporations, and whole communities,—consider these things, and say whether it can be wise or just to place men in this position without making their privileges indefeasible, except on due conviction of imbecility or crime. This Court has more than once given umbrage to the Federal Legislature and the

Executive. It has wounded the sensibility of States. It has affronted great political parties; and drawn upon itself the anathemas of popular orators and the denunciations of the press. We violate no charity in assuming that on some of these occasions it may have deserved censure: for what tribunal is infallible? What one has always and entirely escaped the taint of unworthy motives? But what then? We are to estimate its working on the whole. And after making all due allowance for the infirmities and errors incident to such a tribunal, no candid mind will deny that it has been one of the main buttresses of the Republic, one of the chief supports of the public safety and the public virtue. Yet it is morally certain, that if the Judges had been removable at the discretion of the President or of Congress, or had been obliged to encounter at prescribed intervals the hazards of a heated political campaign, the *personnel* of the Court would have undergone frequent changes. In particular instances this might have been advantageous. But the general result must have been pernicious in a high degree. The differences which arise between the Judiciary and the other branches of the Government, are now evanescent. Under the other system, they would ripen into settled contests; and we should present to the world the unseemly spectacle of a frequent, perhaps, a perpetual wrangling among the principal departments of the Government. Again, the perturbation which occasionally follows an obnoxious decision of the Supreme Court, now passes off in an effervescence of popular feeling. Under the adverse plan, every such event would be seized as an element of political agitation, and made to bear with mischievous effect upon the next Judicial election. In this way, that high Court would be brought down from the serene atmosphere where it now dwells, into the turbulent region of party politics. Frequent changes would destroy its identity. That sense of responsibility and harmony of action which are the natural characteristics of an upright and permanent Judiciary, would give place to the mutual jealousies which may be expected to mark a Bench composed of politicians as distinguished from a Bench composed of Jurists. And the potent influence of this great Institution, which has done so much to save and bless the country, would combine with the numerous agencies already at work to poison the springs of our national life, and hasten the final catastrophe of the Government.

Not to pursue this topic further, the wisdom of the plan upon which the federal courts were organized, has been amply vindicated by the results. It may be asserted, without the least fear of contradiction, that the Judiciary has continued to this day the purest branch of our government. Its integrity must often have been thrust into the crucible. The Tempter, from whose assaults neither private worth nor official station insures any immunity, would not fail to spread his toils around its council-chamber. Specious arts would be employed to subsidize it, now in the interest of some unscrupulous corporation, now in the interest of arbitrary power, and anon on behalf of some popular resentment. We have all seen the fatal effects of these insidious agencies, in the admitted moral deterioration which has, for many years, been going on in other departments of the public service, both State and National. But thus far, (let us thank God for it,) the Judiciary has not been drawn into this vortex. However its decisions may sometimes have occasioned a wide murmur of discontent, and even provoked the formal censure of assembled Senates, it is beyond controversy, that the people, as a body, have more confidence in this Court, than in any other branch of the Government.

Let justice be done, however. This result is not to be wholly ascribed to the plan upon which the Judiciary is organized, nor to the tenure by which the judges hold their office. It is due, in an eminent degree, to the characters, personal and professional, of the men who have occupied the Bench of the Supreme Court. In the list of names which grace the records of this tribunal, there are not a few which have reflected honour even upon that august station. But the hand of a beneficent Providence is especially to be recognised in the history of the Chief Justiceship.

It must be regarded as a remarkable circumstance, that, during the seventy-three years which have elapsed since the organization of the Court, there have been, with an unimportant qualification, but four Chief Justices. The qualification this statement requires, has respect to the appointment of John Rutledge of South Carolina, to this post, in 1795, whose nomination, however, was rejected by the Senate, after he had presided for a single term; and the appointment of William Cushing, of Massachusetts, who, on the retirement of Rutledge, accepted the office, but resigned it at the end of a week, without presiding at all. On the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, Washington manifested his appreciation of the character and abilities of JOHN JAY, by offering him a choice of the offices at his disposal. Mr. Jay preferred the Chief Justiceship, and it was conferred upon him. Four years after, when another war with Great Britain appeared imminent, the President selected him as the most suitable person to be sent as special envoy to that country. The mission was distasteful to Mr. Jay, but he sacrificed his private predilections to his patriotism, and accepted the trust. One of our late historians refers to this event in language which I quote, as supplying (so far as it goes) a faithful portraiture of the man. "In point of Revolutionary services, only the President himself stood upon higher ground. Nor could any person, except the Vice-President, (Adams,) pretend to a place upon the same level. In lofty disinterestedness, in unyielding integrity, in superiority to the illusions of passion, no one of the great men of the Revolution approached so near to Washington. Profound knowledge of the law, inflexible sense of justice, and solidity of judgment, had especially marked him out for the office which he held. . . . The only serious objection to his appointment, (as Ambassador Extraordinary,) was his judicial station. But even that gave an additional dignity to the mission; and in a crisis so important, the objection lost much of its weight."*

Of the convulsions which were occasioned by the Treaty he negotiated; how bitterly he was denounced as the betrayer of his country's independence; how copies of the Treaty were publicly burned in Boston,

---

* Hildreth.

New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and how the two great parties marshalled their forces throughout the Union on this question, as one of honour or shame, of even life or death, to the Republic, it is not for me to speak. All that concerns the present discussion is, that neither at this crisis, nor at any other juncture of our affairs, was any assault made upon Mr. Jay's personal integrity. Even the malevolence of party feeling, never more virulent than then, dared not point a single shaft at his character. That he should feel keenly the injustice with which his services were requited, was unavoidable. But he bore the trial with the perfect peace promised to him whose "mind is stayed on God." Any other foundation must have given way. For "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew," with a fury to which the history of parties in our country supplies few, if any, parallels. But he was unmoved: his feet were planted on a Rock—on that Rock which sustains the pillars of the firmament. The serenity of spirit he displayed amidst this storm, found apt expression on a kindred occasion, when, having been defrauded, by the canvassers, of the vote which had made him Governor of New York, he wrote thus to his wife: "Having nothing to reproach myself with in relation to this event, it shall neither discompose my temper, nor postpone my sleep. A few years will put us all in the dust; and it will then be of more importance to me to have governed myself than to have governed the State."

This incident reveals both his moral greatness and the source from which it was derived. There is no purer name known to the annals of our country than that of John Jay. A man of vigorous intellect, with ample and various culture, equal to any position in the government, and actually filling several of its most elevated and responsible offices, the bosom friend of Washington, and one of the idols of that great party of which it is praise enough to say that it had Washington for its head, his whole character and life were transfused with the spirit of true religion. He was proof alike against calumny and against flattery. A prominent actor in most turbulent scenes, he daily "walked with God." And while nothing could be further removed from a sanctimonious carriage, he seemed ever to carry along with him an atmosphere that savoured of the "better country."

Of Mr. Jay's judicial career I shall not pause to speak. But we may well record it as one of the tokens of the Divine goodness to our country, that such a man was called to preside over the Supreme Court for the first six years of its existence.

He was succeeded, after the brief interval already alluded to, by OLIVER ELLSWORTH, of Connecticut. (March 4, 1796.) It is not from choice that I make merely a passing allusion to the labours of this distinguished man. The limits prescribed by approved custom to a service like the present, only permit me to say, that the mantle of Jay contracted no stain when it fell upon his successor. A sound and able jurist, he administered his high trust in a manner satisfactory to the country, while he carried into every sphere of life the spirit of an unaffected and earnest piety.

Ellsworth resigned the Chief Justiceship in 1800, and was succeeded by JOHN MARSHALL, (January, 1801.) There is but one name in our history which deserves to be pronounced with greater reveence than this. It is the name we instinctively associate with the Supreme Court of the nation; the name through which, more than any other, that Court has established itself in the grateful affections of the American people, and secured for our Jurisprudence the respect of the Profession abroad. If the entire testimony of the Bench and Bar of the country may be relied upon as a safe guide, the munificent Providence which raised up a Washington to conduct us through the Revolution, and take the lead in organizing the government, bestowed upon us a gift of scarcely less value in sending us a Marshall. For without his agency, or that of some one endowed with similar qualifications, the work achieved by Washington and his compeers must soon have come to nought. No one can believe that it would have survived the fierce political conflicts which marked the administrations of the second, third, and fourth Presidents. The machinery of the government was all new. It had gone into operation against the energetic remonstrances of large bodies of the people, including not a few of the most influential advocates and statesmen of the country. Patrick Henry was gone; but at the period of Marshall's accession to the Bench, the echoes of his prophetic warnings were still heard in the land. It happened, singularly enough, that only a very few cases had come before Jay and Ellsworth which involved important questions of constitutional law. The Constitution was yet to be expounded. Its slumbering powers were to be evoked, and its principles applied, as well to the delicate net-work which bound the thirteen commonwealths together in a compact Union, as to questions of personal right and liberty. These proud commonwealths were waiting to hear whether, in escaping from the thraldom of one master, the Revolution had given them another. They were waiting to be told what rights they had relinquished for the common good; and how far they had curtailed their own sovereignty for the promised but, as yet, uncertain advantages of a consolidated government. The lesson was not an inviting one, and there was but one school in which it could be learned. For however ample the discussions which had been elicited by the Federal Constitution; with whatever ability it had been canvassed in the Convention which formed it, in the Conventions which adopted it, by the press, and by the people at large, the country did not and could not know *what the Constitution really was*, until it had been subjected to the keen scrutiny of the Judiciary. Its own terms vested this high prerogative in the Supreme Court; and the country was now to hear the first utterances of that oracle whose voice it had bound itself to reverence as paramount to every other except the voice of God. The formal adoption of the Constitution had been carried in some of the States by a bare majority; and in nearly all it encountered serious opposition. In one of the numerous eloquent speeches with which Henry had opposed it in the Virginia Convention, he went so far as to say, "I would rather infinitely—and I am sure most of this Convention are of the same opinion—have a King, Lords, and Commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils."[*] The Convention of North Carolina had been told that "instead of securing the rights of the States, the Constitution would melt them down into one solid empire."[†] New York had been told that, if not amended, "not even the shadow of liberty would be left to the States, as States."[‡] Pennsylvania had been told that in adopting this government "they were laying a foundation on which might be erected as complete a tyranny as could be found in the Eastern world."[§] The lapse of twelve years had not obliterated these auguries from the public mind. The States were well aware that many of the powers of the Constitution were as yet latent; and they waited with deep solicitude to see the seals loosed, and the book opened which was to decide their future destiny.

In the wise and gracious ordering of our Heavenly Father, this high duty devolved, not exclusively—for he had able and excellent associates—but mainly, upon Chief Justice Marshall. That all-wise Providence which ever prepares fit instruments for its chosen ends, had been silently training him for his great work. Gifted with extraordinary natural abilities, he had been conducted through a variety of changes adapted to unfold and mature his powers, to familiarize him with our history, and to give him that personal knowledge of the wants and weaknesses, the dangers and capacities, of the Union, which experience alone could supply. From 1776 to 1781, he was in active service with the army of the Revolution. He was repeatedly a member of the Virginia Legislature. He sat in the Convention of that State which met to consider the Federal Constitution. At a later period he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to France, and in 1799 was a member of Congress. The period here defined was one in which the public mind was stirred to its lowest depths with the earnest discussion, all over the land, of great questions of policy and jurisprudence.

---

[*] Elliot's Debates, iii. 59.

[†] Id. p. 202.

[‡] Id. ii. 386.

[§] Id. p. 402.

It will be deemed no disparagement to the other States to say, that in these discussions, Virginia took the lead. It was her Augustan age. She could have spared orators and statesmen enough to endow two or three commonwealths, without impoverishing herself. As no other State could have supplied Washington with the military experience so indispensable to the post for which Providence designed him, so it was the only State in which Marshall could have been thoroughly trained for his mission. Not simply an observer, but a resolute and prominent actor in the controversies of the day, he had mastered the true theory of our Goverment, and explored it from foundation to turret, before he was summoned to administer one of its three great departments. He must be a perverse unbeliever who is not ready to say, "The finger of God is here!"

Of the manner in which he acquitted himself in this elevated and most difficult office, there can be no occasion for me to speak. Others have spoken who are entitled to be heard. In the discourses occasioned by his lamented death in this city, (July 6, 1835,) eulogy fairly exhausted itself. And what is more remarkable, no one, it is believed, was ever heard to complain that his panegyrists had transcended the limits of sober truth. With such wisdom, such profound knowledge of the law in every branch of Jurisprudence, such unswerving devotion to the Constitution and to the rights as well of the States as of the general Government, such spotless integrity, such courtesy and candour, such benevolence and gentleness, had he borne the weighty and perilous honours of his position, that the feeling of the people, even of those who had never seen him, was, that nothing which the foremost men of the nation could say, was too good to be said of the departed Chief Justice. By the graces of his personal character, he had endeared himself to all who came within the charmed sphere of his social life. His unaffected piety lent new beauty to the mellowing influence of age. A single stroke will do more to show what he was, than pages of description. His daughter relates* that she had it from his own lips, that he never went to bed without concluding his prayers with those which his mother taught him when a child, viz., The Lord's Prayer, and Watts's cradle stanza,

"Now I lay me down to sleep."

Here, surely, is a spectacle to move any heart not bereft of sensibility. This man of lofty stature and of loftier station; "the Expounder of the Constitution of the United States," endowed with every quality of mind and heart which could shed lustre upon his high position, and when he opened his lips to deliver an opinion, listened to by the magnates of the land with a reverence they accorded to no other human being; this man, in his green old age, with all his honours thick upon him, bowing down at his bed-side night after night before the INFINITE ONE, and with clasped hands and gentle voice breathing into his FATHER'S ear the sweet prayer of his childhood:

---

* Flanders' "Lives of the Chief Justices," ii. 548.

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord my soul to keep;
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my soul to take."

Dear old man, is it wonderful that he should have a place "in the hearts of his countrymen"?

As regards the Judicial services of this great man, I shall refer to them very briefly, and in the words of our own revered and honoured townsman, (*serus in cœlum redeat!*) of whom it must suffice to say, that if he had been called to sit in Marshall's seat, the entire Profession would have said, "It is well." I quote a paragraph bearing upon the topics chiefly dwelt upon in this discourse, and most vitally connected with our national welfare. The extract may serve to illustrate the estimate formed of him by William Pinkney, one of the most brilliant men that ever adorned the Federal Bar, who said of Marshall, the first time he heard him deliver an opinion, that, "he was born to be the Chief Justice of any country into which Providence should have cast him."

"The day of Chief Justice Marshall's appointment will ever be regarded as an epoch in the history of the Constitution. The rules of its interpretation were still to be settled, and the meaning of its doubtful clauses to be fixed by that authority which, under the Constitution, is final, and some of them regarded nothing less than the action of States and the government of a nation. To have erred, would have been to throw into disorder and convulsion the movements of the entire system. To have been suspected of incompetency, would have been to strike out the department from the hearts of the people, and to have left the Union without a Judiciary. What greater responsibility ever rested upon the judgments of a court? What greater triumph to human intellect and virtue, than effectually to accomplish so great a work? What nobler destiny than to be appointed and qualified for the service? What eulogy is equal to so great a name, as that of a man, who gave the last sands of his life, to his eightieth year, in completing so much of it, and in tracing the plan of all that is to be done hereafter? Let it not be supposed that I claim for him the exclusive merit. His modesty would reject it. Justice withholds it. He has had by his side men now resting from their labours like himself, and men still living to continue them, who have contributed by their talents and learning to all that has been done, and will ever be honoured for it by their country. But it is both their praise and his, that they have improved their own powers by the inspiration of his wisdom, and have been raised to their eminence, in part, by the attraction of his example. In him his country have seen that triple union of lawyer, statesman, and patriot, which completes the frame of a great constitutional Judge; and if we add to it "the heart of the wise man" inspired with the love of God, of country, and of mankind, and showing it in the walks of private life, as well as on the judgment-seat, while we have that which the course of the world very rarely exhibits, we have no more than, for the example of the world, has been bestowed upon our country."*

Of the learned and upright jurist who succeeded Marshall, and the distinguished men associated with him, you will not expect me to speak.

In selecting this unusual topic for a Thanksgiving Discourse, I have already intimated that its being "unusual" was one of the considerations which commended it to my choice. Not that any stress is to be laid, in a question of this sort, upon mere novelty. But here was a long-standing debt of gratitude to be paid. Here was one of our greatest national blessings unchronicled; a blessing not held in fee by a single profession, but co-eval with the Government, co-extensive with the country, shared by us all, essential to us all, without which there could be

* Mr. Binney's Eulogy on Chief Justice Marshall, 1835.

neither personal security nor national progress. Even the cursory glance we have taken at our history, must suffice to show that without the mild, equable, and constant pressure of the Judiciary, the old Confederation could never have been moulded into that strong and symmetrical Union which, until assailed with parricidal hands, was our joy and pride. It was, in no small degree, the firm and discreet action of the Supreme Court which reconciled the discontented to the change; which convinced all classes that their rights would be better protected in the Union than out of it, and satisfied the States that the general Government, instead of despoiling them of their independence, had placed it, within its prescribed sphere, upon firmer ground, and made the interest of each to blend with the harmony and growth of all.

The Judicial power, which had loomed up before the disturbed imaginations of so many able men as the very symbol of tyranny, came to be regarded, and justly so, as the stronghold of liberty. Few, if any of the States have escaped its wholesome reprimands for their forays upon the Constitution; but this, like all domestic discipline wisely administered, has only cemented their attachment to the household. Secession itself has been mute in this presence. So far as I know, it has made no formal attempt to extenuate its stupendous crime by appealing to the records of the Supreme Court. We may even, by a pardonable anachronism, quote its own authority as exonerating this Court from all responsibility in the premises. In a beautiful tribute to the character of Marshall at the time of his death, the Charleston Bar made use of this striking language: "Though his authority as Chief Justice of the United States was protracted far beyond the ordinary term of public life, no man dared to covet his place, or express a wish to see it filled by another. Even the spirit of party respected the unsullied purity of the Judge; and the fame of the Chief Justice has justified the wisdom of the Constitution, and reconciled the jealousy of freedom to the independence of the Judiciary."* No testimony could go beyond this in establishing the value of the Federal Judiciary as a means of preserving our Government. If I may seem to you to have dwelt too exclusively upon this one aspect of its powers and results, let it be noted that our Government is, under God, everything to us. If that is gone, all is gone—all that pertains to our civil and social life, and very much that concerns our Christianity, with its infinitude of blessings. Whatever contributes essentially to conserve and perpetuate it, is, to that extent, to be recognised as the shield and safeguard of our dearest rights and privileges. Let us, then, bring our thank-offerings to the altar to-day, for the Judicial system of our country, and for the great and good men who have been raised up to administer it.

---

* Van Santvoord's "Lives of the Chief Justices."

This is one of our duties: to be *thankful to God* for our Courts of Justice. There is another duty no less obvious: *we must sustain and cherish the Judiciary.*

The reasons for this are interwoven with the discussion in which we have been engaged. The obligation rests alike upon the Government and the people—upon the Governments, State and National, in their spheres, and upon the people in theirs. We have dwelt upon the beneficent influence of the Judiciary in fostering the national life and preserving the Union. It was the feebleness of the Federal bond which gave the founders of the Republic more solicitude than any other subject. They would have made it stronger, but the temper of the States would not bear it. The quarter from which they apprehended danger, was that from which all our danger has come—the weakness of the central power, exposed, as it must necessarily be, to the aggressions of so many independent and aspiring States. Inheriting their principles and their fears, Marshall did what he could to invigorate the general Government. To this point tended the whole current of his judicial opinions, during the thirty-four years he sat upon the Bench. Had he and his learned associates adopted what is styled the "States Rights" theory of the Constitution, as the basis of their decisions, the Union, it is probable, would long ago have fallen to pieces. Perhaps the latent tendencies in that direction, before this war broke out, were more decided, even in some of the free States, than was imagined. The war has repressed them for the time, and the Federal power now shines forth in its splendour. But this is the effect of a great crisis, and may or may not continue. Thirty years ago, a profound philosopher and statesman, who, though a foreigner, has written the ablest work on our institutions since the Federalist, penned these remarks on the topic before us:

"I am strangely mistaken if the Federal Government of the United States be not constantly losing strength, retiring gradually from public affairs, and narrowing its circle of action more and more. It is naturally feeble, but it now abandons even its pretensions to strength. On the other hand, I thought that I remarked a more lively sense of independence, and a more decided attachment to provincial government in the States. The Union is to subsist, but to subsist as a shadow; it is to be strong in certain cases, and weak in all others; in time of warfare, it is to be able to concentrate all the forces of the nation, and all the resources of the country, in its hands; and in time of peace, its existence is to be scarcely perceptible: as if this alternate debility and vigour were natural or possible. . . . . So far is the Federal Government from acquiring strength, and from threatening the sovereignty of the States, as it grows older, that I maintain it to be growing weaker and weaker, and that the sovereignty of the Union alone is in danger."*

These are the words of a far-seeing man, and a true friend to our country. It cannot impair the solemnity of the warning, that it should coalesce so entirely with the teachings of Washington and Hamilton, of Jay and Marshall. In our jealous concern for the rights of the States, we must see to it that the general Government be not shorn of its just prerogatives. And if the Government itself be alive to the danger in this direction, it will neglect no suitable means for increasing the stability of the Federal Judiciary. For, if this prop gives way, the whole structure becomes a heap of ruins. Two things, in this view, devolve upon the Executive and the Legislature.

* De Tocqueville.

In the first place, they must exercise the utmost caution in the Judicial appointments. The Supreme Court cannot maintain its true place in our system, unless its high functions be confided to competent hands. It will not do to recruit this Bench from the second and third ranks of the Profession. Nor will it do to make it an asylum for unfortunate politicians. It must be expected that vacancies will be filled from the dominant party, whatever that may be. But every one understands the distinction between a lawyer who makes his profession a hewer of wood to his politics, and a lawyer who makes his politics wait on his profession. With the entire Bar of the Union before him, it were inexcusable in a President to propose any name for this high position, which would not command the general respect of the country. We may of right insist that the men who fill those seats, shall be men of undoubted capacity and inflexible integrity. No others could be safely entrusted with a power which gives law to thirty millions of people, and which has disposed of property worth an hundred millions of dollars in a single year.

The other duty which devolves upon the co-ordinate departments, is that of respecting the powers of the Judiciary, and enforcing its decrees. Not to do this, would be suicidal. For the Government is one; and a house divided against itself cannot stand. It matters not that the decisions of the Court may sometimes be distasteful to the Executive and the Legislature. The Constitution leaves them no alternative but to obey its mandates. Any other course on their part would be adapted to prostrate the authority of the Government. For so pernicious an example could not fail to spread a fatal infection through the body politic. There are not wanting instances in which States have taken it upon themselves to contemn the opinions of the Judiciary. Pennsylvania once called out troops to resist its authority. But it was only a paroxysm of offended dignity, and the State soon bowed to the Constitutional edict. In a much more memorable instance, Georgia set the Court at defiance, and kept the doors of her penitentiary locked upon two faithful ministers of the Gospel, for eighteen months after Judge Marshall had pronounced the law under which they were condemned, null and void. More recently, a decree of this Bench has occasioned an intense popular excitement, spreading through a dozen States, and venting itself in bitter invectives against the Court:—a decree, I may add, which was received with equal astonishment and regret by many who gave no countenance to these assaults upon the personal integrity of the Judges. Examples of this kind are not incompatible with the statement that the Supreme Court, on the whole, retains and deserves, in a signal degree, the confidence of the country. But they are portents which a wise man will heed. They show that this Court requires all the moral support to be derived from the cordial sympathy of the Executive and the Legislature. If they would have the people sustain it, they must not discredit it themselves. When they begin to arrogate its powers, or to tread its opinions in the dust, they may bespeak some one to write its epitaph—and their own.

The obligation to cherish the Judiciary, I have said, rests no less upon the people, than upon the Government.

Common gratitude demands this. If we have received from the Judicial power a tithe of the benefits traced to its agency in this discourse, it has laid us under obligations we can never repay. Besides this, the solemnity and delicacy of their functions, (I am speaking of the Federal Judges,) entitle them to the generous sympathy of the public. As the arbitrators between our several systems of government, they are charged with the gravest responsibilities, and peculiarly exposed to the attacks of mortified pride and disappointed ambition. The people whom they shield from so many evils, are bound in honour to protect them, as far as may be, against such assaults, and to sustain them in the fearless discharge of their high duties.

But they have a still stronger title to our support. We ought to cherish the Judicial power because it is *the citadel of our liberties.* The founders of our institutions were men deeply versed in the science of government. They had explored the hidden causes which have changed so many good governments into bad ones. Experience had taught them that unless the liberty of the citizen was guarded as by "munitions of rocks," it would sooner or later be extinguished. Impressed with this conviction, they deemed it unsafe to commit this sacred deposit to the custody of either the Executive or the Legislature. Commencing with a fundamental law, as already stated, they confided public and private liberty to the keeping of a Constitution, which neither the Executive nor the Legislature could disturb,—to which, indeed, they were themselves subordinate. The prerogative of deciding whether their acts were conformed to this primal law, was vested in the Courts. Had the Courts been made dependent upon the other departments, they might have been prostituted by their masters to the worst purposes of tyranny. Our sages had seen too much of this in the Old World, and they eluded it by making the Judiciary independent. By this system, it will be seen, the Judiciary becomes the conservator of our liberties. It is the protecting power of all the branches of the Government, because it is the guardian of the Constitution. But for its intervention, the Constitution would have perished long ago, pierced with more wounds, from friends and foes alike, than Cæsar received in the Senate-house. It is no less the bulwark which protects the citizen against the Government. It is the inalienable right of every citizen to be governed according to the laws of the land, and to have those laws conformed to the fundamental pact.

There is always, and every where, an inherent tendency in executive and legislative power to enlarge itself. It cannot be trusted. Our country is yet young; but it is old enough to have illustrated the prescient wisdom of its founders in creating a sanctuary for those who might suffer at the hands of arbitrary power. That sanctuary is the temple of Justice. It may share the fate of the Jewish temple, the earthly tabernacle of the Most High, and be demolished by violence. If this parricidal war upon the Union, which we are contesting on a hundred battle fields, should succeed, it must of course go down into the gulf which swallows up our national being. But to every other form of assault it may and should be made impregnable. We must encompass it with our love and gratitude. The sympathies, the prayers, if need be, the right arms, of all true-hearted Americans must be invoked to guard its awful shrine from desecration. No unhallowed foot must be permitted to cross that threshold. I do not say that there is any danger of this at present. Nor am I speaking of what may or may not be allowable in great crises of our affairs, when the nation's life may hang as by a single thread, and nothing but a prompt exertion of executive authority can save it from extinction. All I say is, that here is the sanctuary of our liberties; and that it must be held inviolate at whatever sacrifice. We must cherish the sentiment, and disseminate it among the people, and transmit it to our children, that so long as the Constitution remains what it is, there is no earthly power which may lawfully challenge the supremacy of the Judiciary within its proper sphere, or contest its will.

This is the doctrine of the Fathers. It is the principle which underlies the entire fabric of our Government. It pervades and illumines every page of our annals. And the day that sees the country, whether in a frenzy of passion, or in cringing servility to some popular leader, assail and overwhelm it, will see a government of law supplanted by a government of force, and a great nation putting on the chains their own hands have forged.

Gentlemen of the Bar—It would ill comport with the proprieties of this occasion—with the place where we are assembled, with this day of grateful praise, and with the sacred office I am permitted to bear—should I close this service without adverting to one other aspect of the subject which has engaged our attention. The bearing of this discussion upon your personal responsibilities, will not fail to have occurred to you. A stream cannot rise above its fountain. The Judiciary must take its character from the Bar; and the Bar can never fill the full measure of its exalted sphere, unless it is pervaded with a becoming reverence for Him by whom "princes rule, and nobles, even all the Judges of the earth." It was the crowning distinction of those great Jurists who have passed in review before us, that they laid their lofty attainments and their honours, a willing sacrifice upon the altar of God. With whatever majesty they were enrobed in that high Court where powerful States listened with awe to their mandates, when they went into His presence, it was to bow before Him as miserable sinners, confessing their ill-desert, and pleading for mercy only through "the blood of the Lamb." The example will commend itself to your reflections. The proceedings with which your lives are engrossed, are but a dim type of that august Jurisprudence of which Jehovah Himself is the Minister; which takes cognizance of every thought of every human heart, and will one day decide the eternal "fates of men." Before His dread tribunal we must all be gathered. The purest amongst us is not pure enough to bear its scrutiny. But even the vilest will have nothing to fear, if he have a Friend in that great ADVOCATE who mercifully offers to appear for us. Let us put our case in His hands. Let us invoke the aid of the Divine Spirit, that so, trusting in the blood of the Crucified One, and relying upon His ever-prevalent intercession, we may find pardon and peace with God. This is His own counsel; and in that day of days, no other can avail us.

"What shall I, frail man, be pleading?
Who for me be interceding
When the just are mercy needing?

"King of majesty tremendous,
Who dost free salvation send us,
Fount of pity! then befriend us!"